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TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN AFRICA AND THE EAST

BY

A. J. MACDONALD, M.A.

FORMERLY OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

SIR HARRY JOHNSTON

G.C.M.G., K.C.B., SC.D.

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PREFACE

THE following chapters were awarded the Maitland Prize at Cambridge in 1915, for an essay on the thesis, "Problems raised by the contact of the West with Africa and the East and the part that Christianity can play in their solution."

Considerable reference has been made to the Government Blue Books bearing upon labour questions in South Africa, and to the Minutes of Evidence attached to the Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Liquor Trade in Southern Nigeria (1909), together with the reports and pamphlets of the United Races Committee bearing on the liquor traffic in Africa. For the liquor question in India and Ceylon, the Blue Books, the Journal of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association (*Abkari*) and the reports of the United Races Committee have been consulted. For the sections on government and education in India and China reference has been made to writers in the British quarterlies, but I am responsible for the argument and conclusions. The publications of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade have been used for the chapter on Opium and Morphia in China. Certain papers in the Report of the proceedings of the First Universal Races Congress (1911) have been consulted for the section on inter-racial marriage, but for this section, as for those on political problems in India and China, and the chapter on Religion, I am mainly responsible. They are largely the result of

PREFACE

interest in oriental problems maintained during the last ten years.

General works on colonial life are acknowledged in the footnotes, but I am under a special obligation to Sir Harry Johnston, both for his books on Africa, and for the Introductory Chapter. He readily came to my assistance, although at the time closely engaged on other work, which will add to what he has already given us from his unrivalled knowledge of Africa.

Two recent books must be noticed. One of them, *Village Government in British India*, John Matthai (1915), did not appear until the essay was completed. The other, *Village and Town Life in China*, Y. K. Leong and L. K. Tao (1915), appeared while it was in progress. I regret that I have not been able to make use of them save in footnotes. But I am glad to find my conclusions confirmed by three writers who are able to treat some of these problems from the Indian and Chinese standpoints.

I am indebted to Mr. G. Simpson Rule for reading the proof-sheets, and to Dr. W. T. A. Barber and Dr. A. J. Tait for much kindly advice.

A. J. M.

*S. Mary's Place,
Bury, Lancs.
1916.*

INTRODUCTION

PERHAPS Pity, as a cosmic force, was only born with the ministry of Christ, or, at any rate, was only shaped then as an irresistible appeal to the mind of Man. Glimmerings of Pity, of sympathy with the afflicted, of universal brotherhood, were felt in the minds of the pale-skinned Aryan aristocrats of Northern India five or six centuries before the birth of the Redeemer. But their gospel soon became clogged with negroid myths and savage fatuities, and died away in reverberating echoes through Eastern, Northern and Western Asia. One of these echoes, perhaps, reached Palestine and touched the hearts of the hide-bound Jewish rabbis and philosophers, who were in a sense the ancestors of Jesus of Nazareth. He alone established Pity as a cosmic force, an appeal against the laws of Nature.

Perhaps Pity through Christianity may not only react on Man's relations with Man, and next with the other forms of life on this planet, but Man having obtained control over the elements—so far as they affect planetary life—may constrain them to pitiful discrimination in their actions. He may, indeed, temper the wind to the shorn lamb and turn the sun's heat to nothing but beneficent purposes. Nature uncontrolled seems wholly without pity, a blind and stupid force destroying in one hour the work of centuries or of epochs. As the gospel of Pity, too much importance cannot be attached to Christianity and to the work of those who are truly exponents of Christian ethics in the lands of the backward or retrograde races. In all the centuries following the crucifixion

INTRODUCTION

of Christ, those who went out into the world to preach the gospel in His Name, have been moved with compassion for the heathen bowing down to wood and stone, have sought to release the pagan from the cruel customs of his vitiated religion. And in a very striking way the missionary has acted as a buffer between the domineering forceful European and the peoples of lowlier culture and less effective arms.

Universal human brotherhood and the reversal of the law of Nature that makes Might Right, have been the guiding principles of most Christian missionaries, whether they were Hellenized Jews, Asiatic Greeks, Copts, Latins, Irish Kelts, Anglo-Saxons, Norwegians or Danes, Normans or Frenchmen, Italians, Spaniards, Portuguese, Quakers, Moravians or Anglicans, Roman ecclesiastics, English missionary bishops, great Baptist explorers, Presbyterian educationalists, mild-eyed Danish Lutherans (who respectfully but obstinately withstood the virulent opposition of the Honourable East India Company), Wesleyan enthusiasts, American cranks and apostles of liberty, medical missionaries who worked amongst the obstinate Muhammadans of Morocco, Algeria, Persia and India, English women who taught in Indian harems, West Indian black men who boldly grappled with bloodthirsty heathenry in West Africa, or highly cultivated Oxford and Cambridge graduates of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa.

The difference between these men and women and the pastors and theologians that stayed at home, was mainly this: that whatever dogmas they inculcated they taught and they practised the imperishable essence of Christianity, the gospel of Pity. Often in the wilderness they forgot or even disdained the particular tenets of their own sects, the difference between the Protestant and the Roman Catholic, the Greek Church and the Free Churches, the Quakers' foolishness about not taking part in avoidable and righteous wars of self-defence, the rant about blood

INTRODUCTION

and fire, of the emotional and lawless professions of Christianity. Gradually they dropped the silly hymns, the pointless prayers, the inapplicable litanies, and even the unsustainable creeds which generations and generations of speculators and lovers of argument or display had tacked on to the plain teaching of Christ. Consciously or unconsciously they combined their chief efforts on bettering the earthly life and lightening the mental darkness of savage or backward peoples, or peoples enchained by religions far more foolish than Christianity at its worst.

Many ostensible Christians (at any rate as regards profession) meantime have regarded these special missionary efforts of the last five centuries with ill-concealed aversion, contempt or anxiety. It was obviously going to be the purpose of the Spanish and Portuguese monks, friars and nuns to save the Amerindians of the West Indies and of North and South America from extinction or complete serfdom at the hands of the lay pioneers of civilization. And the proud and greedy conquistadores, the hunters after gold, the colonists itching to become landed proprietors over vast estates and to work them with slave labour, grew to hate the opposition of the Roman Church and equally bigoted determination on the part of its emissaries that the native Amerindian peoples should have a chance to regain their foothold, should be educated to become free citizens and landholders in their own country. This was the real underlying cause of the expulsion of the Jesuits from Portuguese America—their acting as a brake against the rapacity of the European pioneers.

Similarly, the Honourable East India Company was swift to realize, after the triumphs of its soldiers and administrators in the eighteenth century, that to hold India in subjection Christian missionaries must be excluded. It was not only that the arrival of Protestant

INTRODUCTION

emissaries of this faith might anger Hindu priests and Muhammadan mullahs, but it would open the eyes of the Hindus and Hindis to the great facts of the world, and, above all, to the enormous value of modern education. A printing press might spell out the ruin of Company rule and money getting. The Roman Church in India under the eighteenth-century Portuguese had degenerated to an Indian level. It had maintained the Inquisition and the hunt after heresies until the religion it taught could scarce be recognized as having emerged from the early Christian faith. The hundreds of thousands of Portuguese Christians in India in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries caused no apprehension in the minds of the hundred thousand English rulers over the sub-continent because they were of no educational importance. They were as unenlightened as to the Rights of Man, the essential humanity of all races, as the semi-savages of the Indian jungles or the lust-enthralled potentates of the native States.

Yet Lutheran missionaries—to be followed almost immediately by British Baptists, Anglicans and Presbyterians—entered in here through the tiny settlements of the Danish Crown, set up their printing presses, learnt and transcribed the principal forms of native speech, and gave to all who chose to buy and read the passport to a European education. From the point of view of the Honourable East India Company the game was up, and there was no recourse but to suspend further opposition to missionaries of all recognized sects of the Christian faith. Jeered at, nevertheless, throughout the nineteenth century the various Roman Catholic, Anglican and Free Church exponents of Christianity steadily persevered, until in this year, 1916, the actual Christian population of India and Ceylon probably numbers in a truthful census five millions, and five millions amongst the most industrious, tranquil of people amongst the Tamil, Telingu

INTRODUCTION

and other Dravidian or Negroid populations; amongst the Goanese or Portuguese Indians, the Mahrattas and the pariah castes of Orissa and Northern India, and even amongst the pale-skinned Brahmans. The Portuguese-speaking Christians of India showed their bravery and their fidelity to their White masters at the time of the Indian Mutiny. Is there not somewhere in Agra a tablet let into the walls of an ancient palace and fort to record this striking confraternity of Christians? Five millions, however (which some may regard as a generous estimate), seems nothing in face of the three hundred millions and more of non-Christians throughout the far-flung Indian Empire. But then, is it not still more wonderful that this Empire, consisting of so much of Southern Asia, should be controlled, governed and mainly developed by 150,000 British civilians and soldiers, traders, lawyers and scientists? The five millions of indigenous Indian Christians are very much more potent, politically and culturally, than the 70,000,000 of Muhammadans and the 200,000,000 of Hindus. They may, in fact, be compared for potency of influence not depending on numerical value, with the two or three million Sikhs, the two hundred thousand Parsis, and the hundred thousand Armenians, or with the Jews in our own land, in Germany, France, Italy, Russia and Poland.

The influence of Christianity emanating from European missionaries and native converts has profoundly affected the theory and practice of Muhammadanism, the theory and practice of Hinduism and Buddhism. Gradually the professors of these faiths are coming to regard Christianity of a non-dogmatic kind as not alien to their beliefs but a part of them. The figure of Christ and the teaching of Christ are looming ever larger in the thoughts of educated Muhammadans, for, after all, was not his personality deeply revered by their own prophet Muhammad, who did not fulminate against Christianity so much as against

INTRODUCTION

the preposterous distortion of Christianity to be met with in the seventh century in Egypt and Syria—the Christianity of fetish worship, asceticism and celibacy. Hindus and Buddhists alike recognize in the teaching of Christ something strangely analogous to the utterances of their purest-minded and best-inspired teachers.

It may seem strange to read this appreciation of Christian mission work in Asia, Africa and America, from one who, in other writings, has made no secret of his utter lack of faith or interest in most Christian dogmas, his anger at the obstacles placed in the way of scientific research by the exponents of Christianity in past times, his contempt for the many silly adjuncts of Christian worship still in force at the present day, patent, indeed, in much of the daily life and practice of each Christian missionary. But, although the writer of this introductory chapter is so heterodox a professor of Christianity, practical experience in Africa, Asia and America has brought home to him, ever and again during the last thirty-four years, the splendid work which has been and is being accomplished by all types of Christian missionary amongst the Black, Brown and Yellow peoples of non-Caucasian race, and amid those Mediterranean or Asiatic Caucasians whose skins may be a little duskier than ours but whose far-back ancestry was the same, whose minds and bodies are of our type, but whose mentality has been dwarfed and diverted from the amazing development of the European by false faiths, false in their interpretation of Cosmos, false to the best human ideals in daily life.

But the ideals of Christian brotherhood are still not accepted by the mass of Christians in Europe and North America, whose real gospel is the undisputed supremacy of the White man, of the nominal Christian White man, in every sphere of life and in all the continents. Many of our soldiers, our administrators, our fine ladies and our professors of science, our doctors and our lawyers, cannot

INTRODUCTION

tolerate the now patent results of five hundred years of Christian propaganda outside Europe. To them it seems a flying in the face of Nature (which, indeed, Christianity is, in its essence) to educate the races of coloured skin and different textured hair to a position even in the lands of their birth which shall be equal with that of the Caucasian. They are mostly unscientific in their reasoning, and they believe that (so far as they have grasped the philosophy of Nature) all plants, all animals, all human types which they do not recognize as immediately useful and valuable should be rooted up, left to die out, killed out with alcohol or other drugs. The inherent processes of race-suicide in savage peoples should not be checked; neither should we bother ourselves over much about controlling the germ-diseases which keep them under. To such minds the fact that the British Colonial Office finds an easy way out of financial difficulties by deriving revenue from the poisonous alcohol trade in British West Africa and in Ceylon, causes at most a chuckle of amusement.

Possibly, the very officials at the Colonial Office who uphold this method of paying for West African or Cingalese administration, are themselves eschewers of alcohol in their daily life and regard with horror the scenes of drunkenness at London railway stations or in the city slums of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales. But to them it seems of little moment that the population of Ceylon should be kept to a poor level of physical and mental efficiency by the abuse of Government distilled arrack; or that the numerous Negroes of the British-governed West African coast-lands should be gradually losing their procreative powers and their value as labourers and citizens through the accursed gin and rum with which those districts are flooded by the traders of the United Kingdom and Holland. The older type of Anglo-Indian official detested the idea of Indian self-government and the spreading of education amongst the Black, Brown and Yellow millions of Southern

INTRODUCTION

Asia, lest his own authority and wisdom should be called in question. Many a White citizen of Brazil of unblemished Portuguese race, many a "Gringo" Spaniard of Mexico or Peru, cannot see why sentimentalists in Great Britain should fuss over the fate of the indigenous Amerindian population of Tropical America, or why such a population should cease to be serfs and docile savages, the killing of whom is of little moment if it temporarily enriches a few White men.

I care nothing about the legends and theories which have gathered round His birth and youth, or the circumstances of His disappearance after the drama of the crucifixion. But I believe, personally, that the message of Christ was to be the beginning of an attack on Nature herself, on pitiless, conscienceless Nature. I hold that everything which in the animate and inanimate things on the surface of this planet is harmful to Man's progress must be eliminated or controlled. We must defend ourselves against the malign aspects of Nature. Instinctive common-sense forbids us to descend to the silliness of the Buddhist or even of the Quaker, who will take no forceful measures against things evil. But though Science may not as yet have recognized it, there is something inherently right in the essence of Christianity, in the Gospel of Pity. Caucasian Man cannot reign alone on this planet. There must be a fusion of strands in the weft and woof of this world. There is a great part to be played in the future of the planet by men and women of different racial types from our own, and it has been the splendid function of missionaries of Christianity to work for this end.

But let us suppose for a moment that the argument is false, that the right line to follow would have been one of pitiless suppression of every human type which did not come up to the Caucasian ideal of the nineteenth century. Well then, in that case, I argue that such a policy comes too late into the field. If you like so to regard it the

INTRODUCTION

Christian missionary has sown the tares in your imagined field of wheat; or, as I prefer to look at it, he has planted the dragon's teeth of Education. A policy of conscienceless exploitation of the non-Caucasian peoples is now a hopeless one. They are already sufficient in numbers, sufficient in education as to their inherent rights, to unite against the European or the North American if he went backwards in his tyranny rather than forward in his wise guidance and control. There are Negroes, there are Asiatics, there are Amerindians sufficiently educated (mainly by missionaries) to appreciate the enormous debt which the world at large owes to the Caucasian from the Neolithic period onwards. They see that nearly all the great inventions, nearly all the definite steps of upward human progress have emanated from the White man. They reverence him—in some tribes and peoples to a touching degree. They made their gods and demigods of him in the past, and they are willing probably for centuries to come to follow his guidance if it is given in a Christian spirit. Was not Christ Himself a White man, sprung from a race which the Romans could not extirpate but could only scatter, to become some of the world's greatest teachers in science and the arts?

Now what is the thesis I am trying to uphold in this introductory chapter to Mr. Macdonald's thoroughly practical, common-sense book on the relations between Christianity, commerce and civilization in Africa and the East? It is, with the author, to uphold the work of Christian missionaries in general and to lay down the rule that our relations with the backward peoples of the world should be carried on consonantly with the principles of Christian ethics—pity, patience, fair-mindedness, protection and instruction; with a view not to making them the carefully guarded serfs of the White race, but to enable them some day to be entirely self-dependent, and yet interdependent with us on universal human co-operation

INTRODUCTION

in world-management. Those who follow these lines do not seek to make them into imitation White men; we do not necessarily encourage their adoption of European fashions in dress, in house-building, in temple-building, in literature, or in art. On the contrary, we would prefer that they should develop an individuality of their own, equally precious and important as the genius of Europe or North America. But we want Christian ethics to protect them from cruel exploitation, from degeneration and extinction, just as Christian ethics more widely applied will save from similar needless destruction many a remarkable beast or bird, tree or flowering plant, whose co-existence with Man on this planet is perfectly consonant with human progress and happiness. There is still inherent in Man a baboon-like destructiveness, which, instead of being suppressed by the awakening of the half-educated mind is often accentuated. So that the son or daughter of the boorish rustic of fifty years ago (who left the wild flowers of our country alone simply because they meant nothing to him one way or the other) now takes the occasion of every Bank Holiday or outing to snatch plants from their flowering places or dig them up for sale, or for suburban gardens: thus doing his best—and with tremendous effect in England—to exterminate the more beautiful aspects of our native flora. The state of mind to which we should like to educate him is that of the few in the present day who would rather appreciate the wild flower where it grows, as part of the landscape, than transplant it to a garden or put it into a vase.

In the same way we realize that probably educated Amerindians are the most suitable human agency to develop many parts of Tropical America, and that so far from exterminating them by arms or alcohol we should endeavour, through missionaries and missionary-minded merchants, to raise them up from savagery to a wholesome form of civilization. So also we look to see India

INTRODUCTION

evolve from a peninsula inhabited by three hundred millions who are mainly serfs, and who are additionally enslaved by horrible forms of religious belief, into one of the most enlightened, prosperous and happy portions of Southern Asia; making the utmost use—in the interests first of India and next of the world outside India of the marvellous wealth with which it is endowed in its rocks, its surface soil, its living creatures and its forests, and even in the application of the energy of its climate.

In short, the thoroughly materialistic way in which *I* regard Christianity (as all other faiths and practices) is this: that in the barely guessed scheme of the development of this planet it does not pay in the long run to be bad, but it does answer in the long run to be good, to practise the rules of personal and public conduct divined and defined by Jesus of Nazareth. There are defects and exaggerations in all forms of religious belief. Some great teacher of humanity propounds a gospel, the principles of which are so new and yet so true that they appeal forcibly to disciples and successors, who thereupon think the better to enforce these principles on a community by appealing either to superstition, to terror or to promises of ultimate benefit this side or the other side of the grave. But my material mind stops at the first results. The proof of the pudding is in the eating of it. Despite rigid creeds which demanded their thousands and thousands of martyrs, professions of faith which now seem futile and beside the mark, Thirty-nine Articles which now read like a political tract very distinctly dated in the sixteenth century, despite all the clogs and cloaks with which one generation after another has obstructed or concealed the spread of essential Christianity, that essence nevertheless has remained as it were undying, and has from century to century made ever better and kindlier the relations between man and man, community and community, nation and nation. This is true, notwithstanding the seeming contradiction of

INTRODUCTION

the present war, a war in which we have every reason to hope Christian principles will ultimately conquer precepts that are un-Christian. And the result is that the Christian peoples of the world—to whom may really now be affiliated Japan, Christian without knowing it—are the masters of the planet. They absolutely dominate all the continents and in their hands at present lies the future of the earth for good. Not for evil; for if in the pursuit of gain, of absolute power, of the remorseless application of unkind natural forces, they become tyrannous over the eight hundred millions who are not ostensibly Christian and who differ from the White man in racial characteristics, the Power will, I believe, depart from the White man. The sceptre may be taken from him instead of being jointly borne with the Yellow, the Brown or the Black nations. But more likely in a great racial struggle for supremacy and self-defence mankind may welter in degeneration, the progress upwards be arrested, and the human dominance over this marvellous little planet end in sad futility.

The value of the Christian missionary is that he serves no government. He is not the agent of any selfish State or self-seeking community. He does not even follow very closely the narrow-minded limitations of the Church or the sect that have sent him on his mission. He is the servant of an Ideal, which he identifies with God; and this ideal is in its essence not distinguishable from essential Christianity; which is at one and the same time essential common sense, real liberty, a real seeking after progress and betterment. He preaches chastity and temperance, the obeying of such laws as are made by the community; but consonantly with all constitutional and peaceful efforts, he urges the bringing of man-made laws more and more into conformity with Christian principles. Chastity may not be so amusing and exciting as unchastity, but which of the two "pays" better in the long run, if it be your ideal

INTRODUCTION

to lead a long, useful and happy life on earth, and to have happy relations with the people around you? Similarly, with intemperance in food or drink: it is so inevitably punished in the individual and in the race of which he is progenitor that it pays best in the long run to be exceedingly temperate as to the things we put down our throats for our intestines to digest. But in the same way essential and wholesome Christianity encourages marriage and the procreation of children. It does not tabu—as most other religions do,—many things which are wholesome in food or drink. It seeks to establish beauty; and rightly understood, it should identify itself with all ramifications of science, for legitimate Science and rational Religion are indistinguishable.

True Christianity will realize before long that the New Bible is the Book of the Earth itself, which we are slowly and falteringly learning to read, a book which is absolutely unerring when rightly interpreted.

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H. H. JOHNSTON.

CONTENTS

CHAP.	PAGE
PREFACE	v
INTRODUCTION	vii
I TRADE AND THE NATIVE RACES	1
II AFRICA: LABOUR PROBLEMS	11
III EAST INDIAN LABOUR IN SOUTH AFRICA	24
IV LABOUR IN AFRICA—THE WIDER ISSUES	41
V CHRISTIANITY AND AFRICAN LABOUR QUESTIONS	53
VI AFRICA: THE LIQUOR QUESTION	62
VII „ THE LIQUOR QUESTION (<i>continued</i>)	87
VIII „ CHRISTIANITY AND PROHIBITION	102
IX INDIA: THE LIQUOR TRADE	127
X THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC IN CEYLON	145
XI INDIA: SELF-GOVERNMENT	161
XII „ EDUCATION AND CHRISTIANITY	174
XIII CHINA: A POLITICAL PROBLEM	190
XIV „ EDUCATION AND CHRISTIANITY	209
XV „ OPIUM AND MORPHIA TRAFFIC	222
XVI INTER-RACIAL MARRIAGE	233
XVII THE PROBLEM OF RELIGIONS	247
CONCLUSION	270
APPENDICES	274
INDEX	285

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN AFRICA AND THE EAST

CHAPTER I

TRADE AND THE NATIVE RACES

THE history of communities is the story of the quarrels arising from land and trade. When society has passed from the nomadic to the agricultural stage, men begin to quarrel over land. The disputes of individuals widen until they become the quarrels of dynasties. When feudal organisation appears, the relations between races centre round disputes arising from the aggression of one royal over-lord upon the territories of another. The cause of war in the dark and middle ages was land.

The sub-lords of the feudal organisation were able to place a limit upon the aggressive actions of their over-lords. They realised that they were being ground away in the struggle for land. That was the meaning of Magna Carta. But when the feudatories had established their own right to a quiet occupation of land, there still remained the problem of the increasing number of landless men beneath them. There was not land for all. Trade gradually absorbed the attention of the more enterprising among the landless men. Thus began the process which in time involved the best enterprise and best brains of the community, the best of what had formerly been devoted to the struggle for land.

With the change wrought in the economic centre of gravity no change came to the relationship between

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

communities. Rivalry remained. Trade, in place of land, became the cause of war. The process was similar. First came the rivalry between the craft-gilds in the same community, together with the conflicting aims of master, journeyman, and apprentice. This was parallel to the struggles of petty chieftains for land in the days before the feudal organisation of society. Then appeared the commercial rivalry of nations in the form of great trading companies competing for monopolies over given areas. Sometimes an alien company competed with the home people for the support of the home government. This was the policy of the Hansa League. Sometimes the conflict appeared in the form of a competition for monopoly in a neutral region. In this way the East India Company struggled with the French companies for the possession of the Indian trade, and dragged the Government of England into war with France. The wars of the eighteenth century proved fully that commerce had replaced land as the cause of war. The nations of Europe struggled for colonial empire, not because they wanted more land—there was no problem of congested population—but because they wanted more trade.

The craft-gild system gave place to the factory system. Trade was transferred from the hands of great trading companies to the enterprise of individual manufacturers, who did not own the ships which carried their goods. But no cessation in the conflict followed. Strife still followed trade. The masters fought with the men. Trade unions, combines, and lastly syndicalism appeared to organise the forces of capital and labour, which are the forces of trade. Similarly, the combative impetus reached to the relations between governments. The struggle for India became the scramble for Africa. "Extra-territoriality" appeared in China, and until the beginning of the great war of 1914, trade relationships in the Far East threatened the West with a universal war, and still threaten a collision

AFRICA AND THE EAST

between the two great nations facing each other across the Pacific.

To this extent Sir John Seeley is correct.¹ Since the close of the Counter-Reformation war has been caused by trade. Before that period land formed the *casus belli*. The wars of religion were mainly dynastic struggles for territory.

It has been customary to regard commerce as the peace dynamic among men. Certainly commerce demands peace for the development of trade. But commerce always produces war for the expansion of trade. Where trade expands, nations are brought into conflict. The expansion of trade is but the development of commerce from the limits of national to international area. Even individual traders crush each other in the press of competition, so that nations, which possess fewer ethics than individuals, can scarcely avoid conflict. But the fallacy that commerce necessitates peace is hard to remove.

The evils attendant upon trade do not disappear even when international rivalry over a given area has been removed. The organisation of trade into "spheres of influence" and "protectorates" does not purge the methods of commerce from evil. One of the most subtle and misleading facts is that trade does not always create, *de novo*, its problems. It often fixes upon old evils, co-ordinating them and making them cohesive, but in such a manner as to disguise the fact that the new and more destructive impulse comes from within itself. The liquor traffic with Africa has not created the vice of drunkenness among the natives. It has aggravated and intensified an old evil. The opium traffic with China did not first introduce the attractions of the drug to the Celestial. It produced an infinitely worse effect. It quickened and embedded more deeply an ancient habit. Herein lies the opportunity for traders to persuade themselves that the

¹ Sir John Seeley, *The Expansion of England*. Cf. Sir E. Creasy, *Decisive Battles of the World*.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

question of morality must be answered by the native races, whereas, at the present stage of native civilisation, the reverse is true.

Upon closer analysis we find that the trouble is caused by the effect of trading operations upon individuals. Trade is a sure incentive to the exercise of material ambition. Material ambition gives rein to every motive that is not unselfish. It does not regard the welfare of other individuals. The highest standard is "Have I a credit balance?" Trade has no ideal.¹ The demoralising effect of trade upon individuals is revealed in the attitude of Warren Hastings to the opium traffic between India and China. He forbade the use of the drug in India, but sanctioned its export to China. Moreover, when the directors of the East India Company prohibited the export of opium in the ships of the Company, the officials shipped it in independent vessels.²

Another subtle fact is the shelter afforded to the illegitimate operations of trade by the use to which its fruits are sometimes put. Revenue is largely dependent upon trade. One half of the revenue of S. Nigeria is derived from the liquor traffic. The needs of revenue are put forth as a justification for the continuance of the traffic by Government officials. For many decades the necessities of the Indian revenue hindered the abolition of the Indo-Chinese opium traffic.

In its early stages trade does not elevate the native races. In an uncivilised state they have few needs which it can supply. It seldom begins by supplying them, even where the needs exist. Trade concerns itself with the wants, not with the needs, of the native. Wants are always more material and more demoralising than needs. In a stage of society where needs are few and simple, wants are

¹ Of course, there are many individual exceptions to this generalisation, which is mainly concerned with international or inter-racial trade.

² "Clark Lectures," *China and the Far East* (1910), p. 162.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

felt and satisfied to an excessive degree, once they have been realised. Civilisation increases a man's needs, but diminishes the strength of his wants. He feels æsthetic needs which are gratified by the mild satisfaction of art and music. But he does not feel the want of sexual expression which is natural to the African negro. The conclusion is that while civilisation multiplies needs, it produces and fosters moderation in the satisfaction of wants. The native races are influenced by few needs. Anything, therefore, that ministers to their wants will be indulged in to excess. This is especially the case where contact with white races has deprived them of the excitement of war and hunting. The new wants, such as the craving for distilled alcohol, fostered, and often created by the presence of the European, are satisfied with avidity.

Trade does not supply the needs of the native. The materials for native existence are ready at hand in the vegetable and animal life of the forest and plain. Not until the needs of the native have become increased and made more complex, by the spread of civilisation, will the trader be in a position to undertake the beneficent enterprise of supplying needs as distinct from wants. In the first stages of the relations between European and native races, trade either supplies and quickens wants already existing, or creates new wants. The native races wanted firearms in order to slay more quickly, and to enslave each other. They want distilled spirits because European alcohol gratifies more fully than native liquors the want of strong drink. Trade responded rapidly and with equal eagerness. The first commercial importations to Africa on a large scale were rifles and gin.¹ The Chinese people wanted a solace against the hard struggles for existence peculiar to China. The traders supplied it in the form of opium. In the recent republican revolution, the Chinese wanted to be Europeans, and to introduce European institutions in a day. They

¹ Lady Lugard, *A Tropical Dependency* (1905), p. 343.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

thought it could be done by wearing European caps. The Japanese merchants responded to the fad of the moment, and stooped to the childish whim of a great nation.¹ So, too, in India, German traders will devote ceaseless attention and thought towards supplying the devotees at religious festivals with tawdry souvenirs of their hours of relaxation.² Trade does not elevate the backward races. It concerns itself with itself, and will respond to any appeal which it can conveniently supply, provided there is profit to be found.

The problem is made more difficult by the fact that the natural products of tropical countries are valuable to the inhabitants of temperate zones. On the other hand, there is little which the native races need in exchange. Wants have to be created by trading companies in order to persuade the natives to bring down the natural products of the country to the coast. So the problem is made worse by an additional motive for supplying trade goods which satisfy wants and not needs.

Trade has no interest in the native races beyond commercial expectations. It does not concern itself with their social and moral development. Trade, indeed, is not responsible in these matters. But there is a limit to irresponsibility, which amounts almost to an obligation to responsibility. Commerce must see that its harvest is not reaped at the expense of the evolution of native society and morality. Mr. Churchill says: "In such circumstances there cannot be much opening for the push and drive of ordinary commercial enterprise. The hustling business man—admirably suited to the rough and tumble of competitive production in Europe or America—becomes an incongruous and even dangerous figure when introduced into the smooth and leisurely development of a native state. The Baganda will not be benefited

¹ E. J. Dingle, *China's Revolution* (1912), p. 22.

² S. M. Mitra, *Indian Problems* (1908), p. 301.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

either morally or materially by contact with modern money-making or modern money-makers. When a man is working only for the profits of his company, and is judged by the financial results alone, he does not often, under the sun of Central Africa, acquire the best method of dealing with natives; and all sorts of difficulties and trouble will follow any sudden incursion of business enterprise into the forests and gardens of Uganda.”¹ Mr. Churchill draws attention to the bad effects of commerce. But care will still have to be taken to protect the natives, when commercial enterprise is mainly concerned with supplying needs rather than wants, and when the payment of British shareholders is not the only consideration kept before the attention of the manager of a company. Sir Harry Johnston remarks: “Commerce will induce the native to develop the resources of his own land in order that he may make money by the sale of its products. He will also be able to work for the foreign merchants and settlers, and thus earn money by a reasonable degree of toil. So long, however, as the natives set themselves resolutely to maintain the Protectorate and a civilised administration over their territories, so long, I consider that the Administration should uphold native interests and welfare first of all.”²

Too often the one-sided attitude of trade is shared by the administration. Commercial ambitions and the necessities of revenue often coincide. Without the import duties on alcohol the administration of West Africa would be without one half of its revenue.³ The lucrative yield of excise in India presents the chief difficulty in the way of radical reforms in the liquor traffic of India.⁴ When

¹ Winston S. Churchill, *My African Journey* (1908), p. 122.

² Sir Harry Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate* (1902), p. 260.

³ Native Race Committee, *Liquor Traffic in Southern Nigeria* (1910), p. 47, and Sir Harry Johnston, *Nineteenth Century* (Sept. 1911).

⁴ Thirty-eight years ago the excise revenue of India was £1,500,000. To-day it is over £8,300,000.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

the interests of trade and administration coincide, an almost insuperable barrier is raised to an unbiassed consideration of native requirements in matters affecting their moral and material welfare. Sometimes the diplomatic relations of great nations influence the local administration to sanction a trade which is disastrous to the native races. The French Government, in spite of aspirations in the contrary direction, are compelled to support the vine-growing industry and the 1,378,000 distillers of France. They have no option but to permit the importation of brandy into North Africa. The administration of West Africa is obliged to allow the entry of French liquors into the country lest any opposition to French policy should compromise the British Foreign Office.¹

The contact of the white with the black, yellow, and brown races has produced a crop of problems which are mainly commercial, or are conditioned by commercial enterprise. In Africa there are the liquor traffic and the labour question. Trade attracted the western nations to China. The Chinese people have suffered on account of the commercial concessions made to the western nations. They desire to be rid of concessions and "extra-territoriality." They perceive that commercial power alone will equip them for the purpose. But first they must democratise their institutions. So that in China the problem, which is ultimately commercial, presents a political aspect for the time being. British relationships with India were solely commercial at the beginning, but in order to retain the Indian trade, the Company, and afterwards the Government, were compelled to become the political occupiers of the Indian states. Thus political methods largely influenced the early relationship of Great Britain with India, and the political value of India to the Empire is now the dominant factor in the connection. But it is commerce which makes it worth while. Trade

¹ Sir Harry Johnston, *Nineteenth Century* (April 1914).

AFRICA AND THE EAST

is ultimately the problem in India, more especially as the Indian peoples have aspirations towards independent government. A fuller measure of self-government will quicken the development of an indigenous trade. So, internally also, the question of trade in India is largely a matter of politics.

The difference presented by the problem in Africa and in the East, arises from the fact that in the East the native races wish to dominate trade themselves. Political instruments alone will enable them to do it. In Africa the native races have no commercial ambitions. Hence they do not desire political power. In the East the trade questions will be settled by political collisions. In Africa it is rather an ethical question dependent upon the effects produced by western trade upon the native races. If there is a conflict, it will only arise from the competition between the western nations. The labour question threatens political difficulties. But that is a matter of adjustment on the part of the white races. The native races do not require autonomy for the purpose of controlling the fruits of labour. They are restive because personal freedom and comfort are threatened.

Not only does trade affect the moral condition of the native where the liquor traffic enters his social life, and threatens to counterbalance the good results which should follow upon contact with white peoples, but, by bringing white and black into more intimate relationships, which are not sanctioned by any legal or social recognition, it strikes at the root of whatever ethical instincts and habits the native may possess, and threatens the integrity of his domestic life. The problem of the half-caste concerns the biologist as well as the administrator and the reformer, and from a scientific point of view a solution may be offered very different from that which suggests itself to popular consideration. But, even so, it cannot be denied that the evil effects which at present stand out

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY

from these connections, are mainly the result of the lax habits of the white community dwelling on the borders of the homes where the native races dwell.

Commercial enterprise is the most widely ramifying influence of western civilisation operating among backward peoples. But trade is not ultimately a civilising factor. It demands peace, and suddenly creates war. It revives and accentuates old evils. It demoralises its agents. The civilising factor in the West is religion, with its attendant developments—art, literature and music. Religion has so far tempered the relations of western nations that the competition between them is for trade, not for land. But the claws of human enterprise have not yet been clipped. Hence trade still breeds trouble at home and abroad, the more so as religion is hard to transfer from one people to another. In the advance of old countries upon new it comes slowly, dragging its steps in the rear,¹ nevertheless, its leaven will work regeneration when commercial excess has been restrained.

The attention of religion must be transferred from the centre to the circumference of the activity of the western races. A stone dropped into a pond impels the water at the centre to the periphery. Religion has made an impression at the centres of the western nations. But truculent counter-forces have been driven to the circumference of civilisation. Religion must pursue them there. It is a mistaken policy to wait until all at home has been made perfect. The only possible solution to the problems in Africa, China and India lies in the application of ethical and religious pressure at the points of contact with the West. This will be a long process, but though religion works slowly, it works inevitably.

¹ This is true of every part of Africa save Uganda, where the opening up of the country took place after Christianity had been firmly rooted among the Baganda peoples.

CHAPTER II

AFRICA—LABOUR PROBLEMS

THE most difficult problem of trade facing the administration in Africa is that of labour. The question is complicated by the absence of certain factors which minimise the difficulty of the labour problem in the West. Machinery has not been extensively introduced. This is largely due to the absence of railways, a fact which also influences the problem when the difficulty of transporting native labour has to be considered. White labour, whether skilled or unskilled, can be obtained only in very small quantities.

The vast mining concerns of South Africa, the great rubber and cocoa plantations of West Africa, the growing cotton industry of Uganda, together with the palm-oil trade which spreads right across the continent, are dependent upon native labour, or, failing that, upon some substitute which will be equally cheap. The problem of the industrial companies of Africa is to obtain cheap labour. White labour is too highly paid to make possible any large demand for white labourers in those classes of work where muscle rather than brain is required. Cheap labour may be bad labour, but white labour is often impossible where a considerable margin of profit is essential. In course of time it may be possible to secure better labour by the payment of higher wages. But the wages offered can never be so high as those demanded by white men in tropical and sub-tropical countries. Therefore the bulk of the labour demand will continue to be supplied by natives. The increase in wages will be met by better

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

production. Therein lies another difficulty which should only be transient. The native, at present, is only capable of performing work of a certain low standard. Higher wages will not immediately, and *ipso facto*, coax from him better work. He is incapable of it until education, civilisation and Christianity have removed certain deficiencies from his character. At the present time the African native is too unstable, too apt to abandon his work under slight provocation, too thriftless in the use to which he puts his money, and consequently thriftless of his efficiency as a worker, to make it desirable, or even profitable, to pay him higher wages. These deficiencies sometimes arise from the conditions of his work, and from the treatment meted out to him by overseers and paymasters, though more frequently they are due to weaknesses inherent in the native character. But—it is a fact to be emphasised—the development of the natives, in many individual cases, proves that he is capable of overcoming these faults, and promises a time when he will justifiably demand a higher wage, and when the increased return made by his work will enable the employer to meet the demand.

The labour problem in Africa is most acute on the Rand. It is said that the white man cannot work on the deep levels in the subtropical climate of South Africa. But Cornish miners are able to work on the deep levels of the Camstock mine in Nevada, by means of three shifts, each of twenty minutes duration.¹ The real objection lies in the fact that the white man is ashamed to work in the presence of black men. He becomes an autocrat of the worst type. He shirks work because physical exertion “looks bad.”² But apart from these considerations, two

¹ William Maitland, *Contemporary Review* (Dec. 1905).

² Sir Harry Johnston, *Nineteenth Century* (Oct. 1908): “The noxious idea that the white man is always to be foreman and never labourer, that it ‘lowers his prestige’ in the eyes of the ‘native’ if he is seen working with his hands, is, together with whisky, sapping the foundations of the British Empire, and must be eradicated.”

AFRICA AND THE EAST

insurmountable difficulties lie in the way of employing white labour for unskilled work in the mines; the white population is small; it is not possible to pay wages sufficiently high to attract men in large numbers from the West.

The problem has not been completely solved by resorting to black labour. Fresh difficulties have been created, while some of those attached to the supply of white labour have not been overcome. Black labour in South Africa is not sufficient to meet the requirements of the mines. It has been estimated that only fifty per cent. of the demand can be supplied by the native races which dwell south of the Zambesi, in spite of large sums of money spent in recruiting.¹

While the native races of South Africa have long since abandoned those warlike and migratory habits which made concentration upon settled labour an impossibility, they have not yet become wearied by the habits of an agricultural and pastoral life, nor have their numbers increased sufficiently to necessitate a periodical movement towards the centres of urban industry, such as takes place in the older agricultural communities of the West. Provided they can obtain a satisfactory settlement on the land, together with the ownership of a certain number of cattle, they have little spontaneous inducement to send them to the mines. The wants of the native are few. They are easily satisfied by a slight cultivation of the soil, and by the cattle which he allows to roam at random over the veldt. Moreover, these wants are supplied by a very limited amount of personal activity. His occupations on the soil and the veldt afford him an easy means of livelihood at the cost of a small amount of

¹ W. Blane, *Nineteenth Century* (March 1914), cf. Report of the South African Native Affairs Commission (1903-5), p. 54. At that date only 15 per cent. of the labour in the Rand mines consisted of British Africans, p. 57. Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate* (1902), p. 283.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

labour. It is a simple, though not an idle life, suited to his somewhat indolent and unenterprising habits.¹

The South African native is now a home-loving creature. His social instincts are largely developed. Like the Jew, his great ambition is to found a family. Until the time arrives when, by the process of "labola," he is able to make an arrangement with the father of his selected wife, he is content to remain in close touch with his own father's kraal.²

Since the cessation of intertribal wars, the native has swung over to an opposite extreme so far as his migratory habits are concerned. He fears long journeys, especially when the goal will bring him into a sphere of activity unknown to his past and present experience.³ Moreover, when the allurements of the labour agent, supported by his own desire to hasten the day when he may be able to take to himself a wife, have at last brought him to the mines, he does not often remain at work for any length of time. From three to six months is the average period during which the native stays on the Rand,⁴ with the result that the whole labour *personnel* of the mines changes every two years. His temperament is too uncertain, his moods too changeable, he is too prone to take offence under slight provocation, to make possible a sojourn at the mines which would be more profitable to production.

To these causes, which belong to the native himself, and which can only be removed by the processes of civilisation, others have to be added. They are created by the administration of labour, and are, therefore, a matter for the attention of the white man. The treatment

¹ Report of South African Native Affairs Commission (1903-5), p. 57.

² Sir Godfrey Lagden, *Nineteenth Century* (March 1908).

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Report of Commission on South African Native Affairs (1903-5), p. 56. Sir Charles Dilke says that they leave to superintend the sowing of their crops, and then return to the mines: Report of First Universal Races Congress (1911), p. 319.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

offered to the natives in the mines is not always equitable. It is sometimes even harsh. The white overseers are often impatient of attempting to understand the native mind and the difficulties which new work under strange conditions presents to him. Labour agents and paymasters have not always fulfilled the promises made to the native recruit. Pay has been held back or diminished by the compulsory purchase of goods, sold by interested persons on or near the mine compounds. The accommodation offered has sometimes afforded a poor substitute for the kraals on the open veldt. Overcrowded quarters, insanitary conditions, surrounded by moral temptations, have impaired his physical fitness, so that the arduous labour of the mines has become in itself a cause of discontent. At the end of his contract the native labourer often finds himself at a loss to know how to return to his kraal. Little advice is forthcoming from railway officials. If any of the proceeds of his labour remain to him, he is tempted to dispose of them in an unworthy manner, and at once becomes a member of the community of low-class blacks and whites who surround the mining towns, or attempts to reach his own country by vagrant methods.

Perhaps the chief influences which make the native a bad labourer are not due to the native himself, or to his upbringing. They are due to the aforementioned causes, or to others of a similar nature. That is to say, they are the concern of the white man and his organisation. This being the case, it is possible for the white man to remove these influences, and to make the path of the native, both towards the mines, and in the mines and mining compounds, more easy to his steps. The result would be better work and increased production, for the native is capable of more settled habits, and is willing to remain longer at the mines, once he has grown accustomed to their conditions, and has had assured to him some prospect of advancement.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

Men of varied experience in different parts of Africa have testified to the efficiency and assiduity of the native labourer when adequate supervision and fair treatment are meted out to him.¹ In the mine and plantation, as well as on the farm and in the kitchen, it is possible to train him, and to retain him as a profitable servant and labourer. The mere historical fact that for centuries the labour of the Bantu races has been sought by Europe and America should be sufficient reply to all attempts to belittle the value of negro labour.

It is possible to overcome, by judicious treatment, the changeable and unstable habits of the black labourer. The fact that the native overseers, or "boss-boys," will return again and again to the same mine, staying from two to three years at a time, shows that if sufficient prospect of advancement is held out to the natives they will become permanently settled on the mines for so long a period as they are physically fit for arduous work.² The native responds quickly to kindly treatment, especially when it is apparent that the white man takes an interest in him and tries to comprehend his difficulties; still more when he is entrusted with a small measure of responsibility.³ Some considerable reorganisation of the conditions of labour in the mines would be necessary before the number of "boss-boys" could be materially increased, but the expansion in mining activity which should follow upon more stable labour conditions would absorb any white labour which might be displaced, while the increased output, and consequent reduction in the cost of production, would enable some of the deeper levels, at present commercially unworkable, to be tapped.⁴

¹ Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate* (1902), p. 283 ff. R. C. F. Maugham, *Zambezia* (1910), p. 107.

² W. Blane, *Nineteenth Century* (March 1914).

³ Cf. Sir A. E. Pease, *Contemporary Review* (July 1906).

⁴ W. Blane, *Nineteenth Century* (March 1914).

AFRICA AND THE EAST

The whole procedure, from the action of the labour agent to the attitude of the repatriation officials, needs to be revised. The recruiting of native labour should be transferred from the control of monopolist labour associations, which are connected with the mining syndicates, to the native affairs department,¹ every care being taken that it does not come within the duties of any revenue official.² The native should be transported to the mines without being subjected to annoyance from railway or mining officials, and, if necessary, his ticket should be advanced and debited to the first instalment of his wages.³ Such a system has been introduced into the organisation of contract labour in Portuguese West Africa.⁴

Under the Portuguese regulations of January 29, 1908, powers were conferred upon a central committee for labour and emigration to appoint and control labour agents, or their substitutes, for the purpose of recruiting native labour. Funds were to be supplied to the agents by applicants for labour, and these payments were to be chargeable upon the wages of the natives. The agents were to co-operate with native chieftains in securing labourers. The native recruits were to be conveyed to the centres of industry by the principal railroads in the colony. They were to be accompanied by the recruiting agents, who were to supply them with proper food during the journey, whether by road or rail. During halts on the journey the natives were to be lodged by the agents in suitable depôts where the sanitary conditions were free from objection.

When the labourer had reached the centre of industry, he would be handed over to the master to whom he had been assigned, and who was responsible for the regular

¹ Sir A. E. Pease, *Contemporary Review* (July 1906).

² Cf. Sir Godfrey Lagden, *Nineteenth Century* (March 1908).

³ Report of Native Affairs Commission (1906-7), § 89.

⁴ Correspondence respecting Contract Labour in Portuguese West Africa (August 1912).

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

payment of his wages in coin.¹ The native labourers were to be suitably housed by the masters in accommodation which resembled as nearly as possible the native huts. Proper food and clothing, with adequate medical treatment, was also to be supplied by the masters. The regulations insisted that every master employing over fifty labourers should maintain a separate infirmary for members of either sex. On plantations where one thousand or more labourers were employed, the doctors were required to pay a visit every day; where the number employed was less than a thousand, but not less than six hundred, the doctor must visit twice a week; in all other cases once a week. The doctors were to be men qualified at Lisbon, Oporto, or Coimbra. Similar regulations for the care of women and children, especially in maternity cases, were drawn up.

At the close of the period of contract, the labourers were to be returned to their own villages by the repatriation agents at the expense of the masters. But they were free to engage for a further contract. On the return journey similar care was to be taken with regard to accommodation and food.

The royal regulations of January 29, 1903, were revised by the Provisional Republican Government on May 18, 1911. In principle they remained the same. The whole scheme received the congratulation of the British Foreign Office and colonial officials. But later on heavy criticism was directed against the Portuguese Government, to the effect that the regulations were not loyally carried out in West Africa, and in particular the option given to the native to re-engage was abused by methods which made re-engagement almost compulsory.

The whole question of the value and desirability of contract labour is a moot point in labour circles in the British colonies. The experience obtained from the

¹ Cf. Sir Godfrey Lagden, *Nineteenth Century* (March 1908).

AFRICA AND THE EAST

employment of Asiatics does not lead to any confident conclusion concerning its expediency. Moreover, to the African it savours of forced labour, if not of slavery. Some authorities are in favour of forced labour in some form. They allege that the native will not work without compulsion, and that work is essential to his development.¹ But most observers are of the opinion that forced labour, even in the modified form presented by contract labour, is not in accordance with British traditions and sentiment, or with native wishes.

The important lesson to be drawn from the Portuguese regulations is the method employed in attempting to secure that the recruiting, payment, accommodation, and repatriation of native labour should be conducted by responsible authority. The history of the Congo, and of the more recent Putumayo atrocities in South America, apart from the past record of some British trading concerns in West Africa, prove that trading companies are not capable of restraining commercial enterprise in the interest of the natives, even where moral and physical claims are clearly manifest.² But where these matters are placed in the hands of an authority which has no commercial or even administrative interest, some of the difficulties which make native labour on the Rand, and elsewhere, so wasteful and inefficient will be removed.

Recommendations similar to the regulations of the Portuguese Government, but only general in character, were made by the South African Commission of 1903-5, and also by the Natal Commission of 1906-7. The practicability of reforms of this nature is made apparent by the fact that for some considerable time the housing, sanitation, and medical treatment of the native labourers at Cape Town, Kimberley, and Johannesburg have been organised along these lines. The Commission of 1903-5

¹ Sir H. Seton-Kerr, *Contemporary Review* (Feb. 1912).

² John H. Harris, *Nineteenth Century* (June 1914).

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

drew attention to the conditions in these towns.¹ But there is need for extension and room for improvement.

Meanwhile a more difficult problem has arisen. Quite early in the industrial history of the South African colonies it became clear that Kaffir labour would not be forthcoming in sufficient supplies for many years. East Indian labour solved the industrial problem of the mines, until the demand for labour again increased after the disturbing effects of the South African War. The introduction of Chinese coolies temporarily readjusted the conditions. But the importation of brown and yellow labour threatened, after a few years, to swamp the European population by an inrush of Asiatics, which gathered momentum from the rapid increase of the brown and yellow settlers, who are able to subsist and multiply on a far lower standard of living than is possible to the white man.

Native (African) labour became disorganised by the South African War. The mining interests were unwilling to apply to India for an increased supply of Indian coolies. At the close of 1903 an application was successfully made to the High Commissioner and to the Home Government for permission to import Chinese coolies, under indentures for three years. The first consignment of Chinese arrived in June 1904. Eventually over 50,000 were brought into South Africa.² Almost immediately a conflict occurred between the mining syndicates and the white labour organisations in South Africa. The latter were supported by the Liberal party in the Home Government, who raised the cry of "Chinese slavery" upon the indenture system.

The question of Chinese labour had already been dealt with in New Zealand, Australia and Canada. By an Act of the New Zealand Government in 1899, all immigration was forbidden in the case of persons of other than British (including Irish) parentage, save those who

¹ Report, § 383.

² *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1911), vol. xxv. p. 481.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

were able, in the presence of an official, appointed by the Act, to write out and sign an application for admission, written in any European language. Any person disqualified by the language test might remove the disqualification by the payment of £100. The Chinese had already been dealt with under the Chinese Immigration Act of 1881, and its amendments, with the result that no Chinaman can now enter New Zealand without making a payment of £100,¹ while the Act of 1896 totally prohibited the naturalisation of Chinese.²

In Australia the restrictive immigration laws were the first victories scored by the Democratic party. But the policy of exclusion was soon adopted by all parties. In 1901 the Federal Immigrant Restriction Act of Australia placed a similar language test upon Orientals seeking admission to the country. As in New Zealand, the disqualification can be removed by the payment of a tax of £100, but there is a difference in the language test. The Australian Act demands a piece of dictation of not less than forty words. Moreover, all contract or indentured labourers are totally prohibited from entering the country. Special reservations permit the admission of skilled workmen. The attitude of the Australian Government to Pacific islanders was even more drastic. By the end of 1906 every Kanaka had to be deported.³ Two years later (1908) a federal law prohibited the naturalisation of any natives of Asia, Africa, or the Pacific islands.⁴

Restrictions against Chinese immigration have been drawn up in the United States of America and in Canada. But, with the exception of the towns bordering on the Pacific littoral, there seems to be little justification for the action of the United States Government, save on the

¹ G. H. Scholefield, *Nineteenth Century* (August 1905).

² Richard Jebb, *Quarterly Review* (Jan. 1914).

³ G. H. Scholefield, *Nineteenth Century* (August 1905).

⁴ Richard Jebb, *Quarterly Review* (Jan. 1914).

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

ground of racial antipathy or moral objections against the Chinese. There is little danger of the Chinese immigrant ever creating a yellow problem which shall rival the black problem of the southern states. The attitude of the United States Government is the more inconsistent in view of its loudly protested friendship for China in international politics. The Act of 1907 excluded all Chinese labour of an unskilled character, and only admitted skilled labour where labour of a like kind was not unemployed in America. All forms of contract labour were prohibited. The terms of this Act were confirmed by the Regulations of January 24, 1914.¹ On the other hand, in Canada, where the white population is small, and where an opportunity for a rapid development of an Asiatic community is open, naturalisation is allowed to Asiatics after two years' residence in the country (Act of 1906).²

The definite attitude of the Governments of New Zealand, Australia, and the United States towards Chinese labour was adopted by the Union Government of South Africa in 1907. In that year the importation of Chinese labour was stopped. Its place was taken by Kaffir labour recruited in the Portuguese province of Mozambique. By February 1910 the last batch of Chinese coolies was repatriated,³ and the yellow labour question came to an end. But the problem of brown labour remained.

It should be observed at this point that the attitude of the Colonial Governments cannot be fairly judged until some decision has been made as to whether the problem is to be regarded from the imperial or the colonial standpoint. If the local necessities of trade are to be given precedence over the imperial responsibilities of the legislature, then whatever be the claims of the Empire where

¹ Treaty Laws and Rules Governing the Admission of Chinese, Jan. 24, 1914.

² Richard Jebb, *Quarterly Review* (Jan. 1914).

³ *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1911), vol. xxv. p. 481.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

Indian labour is concerned, and whatever be the demands of international policy in the matter of Chinese labour, there can be little doubt that the supremacy of white interests, both of master and man, in all colonial industries has been threatened by the introduction of Asiatic labour. If economics are to be placed before imperial ethics in the science of politics, then the action of the colonial legislatures claims the serious consideration of the Home Government.

CHAPTER III

EAST INDIAN LABOUR IN SOUTH AFRICA

THE first labour troubles arising from the introduction of Chinese coolies into Australia occurred in the year 1860. This was the year of the introduction of Indian labourers into Natal. Between 1860 and 1866 the sugar plantations of Natal received 5,000 Indian coolies.¹ The supply was then stopped, but the demands of the planters became so urgent that in 1874 the importation of indentured labourers from India was again permitted. Immigration continued without hindrance until 1909. Two years later it was prohibited by the Government of India.²

The rapid growth of the Indian population raised the alarm of the white people. In 1911 the Indian community in Natal numbered 150,000, in the Transvaal 15,000, and in the Cape 15,000.³ Since 1895 the policy of South Africa has been steadily set against Indian labour. Not only has indentured labour now been brought to an end, but an attempt has been made to bring pressure to bear upon the ex-indentured Indians who have remained in South Africa, and upon Indian traders who have entered the country independently of indentures, so that they should be driven to return to India. So far the policy has proved unsuccessful. But it has resulted in acute tension between the Indian and European communities, a tension which is making itself felt in the

¹ Report of the Indian Inquiry Commission (April 1914).

² *Ibid.*

³ Correspondence : Immigration Bill, South Africa, Sept. 1912, p. 9. Indians are prohibited from entering the Orange Free State,

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY

relations between the Imperial Government and the Government of India. South Africa again threatens to become the storm centre of the Empire. One Indian writer¹ points out that the effect of the crisis upon India may be to create a far more bitter attitude towards the British regime than the agitation of ten years ago. The unrest of the first decade of the century was confined to the educated classes of India, but the economic problem in South Africa affects the masses of the country-people of India, and turns the question into a matter of vital imperial importance. The Indian settler constantly corresponds with his relations in India. All his discontent is rapidly communicated to them. The letters from Indian students in British universities, recording the indifferent treatment shown to them by Englishmen, has influenced Indian parents against the British regime. So the communications of Indian settlers in South Africa are stirring up the industrial and country folk of India against their rulers. The local and political problem of South Africa threatens to become an imperial problem.

Before the restrictions of the South African immigration laws were published, the colonists were undoubtedly threatened with severe commercial competition, if not with extinction, by the Indians. But the obvious fact remains that the Indians were introduced in order to meet the needs of colonial industries. The development of the wealth of South Africa has been largely due to their labour. Indeed, so valuable is the Indian community to the industries of the colony, that the Royal Commission of 1909 reported that the total repatriation of Indian labourers from Natal would ruin the mining and planting concerns. The colonists are attempting by the exertion of slow pressure, with the minimum of loss to themselves, to push the British Indians out of South Africa. It may be granted

¹ Saint Nihal Singh, *Fortnightly Review* (March 1914).

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

that the position of Englishman and Boer has been gained at the expense of much blood and money, but the right of the Indian to a stake in the country is based upon a claim almost equally strong—upon his labour; and when every concession has been made to colonial interest and prejudice, it cannot be denied that both Colonial and Indian are on the same footing. They are immigrants in a country which belongs to neither.

The whole question is an illustration of the conflict between imperial morality and obligations on the one hand, and commercial interest on the other. If the British Empire has brought privileges to the Englishman, it has also brought responsibilities. Not the least of these is to allow to those subjects of the Empire who are not British by birth a share in imperial privileges. The problem has become more complicated by the development of democracy within the different British colonies. If devolution tends to the better government of the colonial dependencies, it endangers the cohesion of the whole imperial organism. The exclusive attitude of the colonists may be largely due to the limitations placed upon the colonial aspect of imperial problems by local politics. It is difficult for the South African, as for the Australian, to arrange satisfactorily his own affairs, and at the same time to transfer himself periodically to the imperial horizon, in order to see that no superstructure in his own little sphere becomes an eyesore to his more distant neighbour. But this has been the weakness in the foreign policy of every democracy where self-government has been devolved upon its constituent members. It rendered impossible the creation of a Greek empire. It hindered the republics of northern and central Italy from presenting a national front to Teutonic and French aggression without, and to papal autocracy within. It rendered useless the efforts of the municipalities of Germany in their struggle against the still more disastrous centrifugal forces of the feudal baronage. The

AFRICA AND THE EAST

supreme achievement of the British Empire lies in the fact that a stable equilibrium has been maintained between centralisation in matters of foreign policy, and local autonomy in domestic affairs. The gyroscopic centre of empire has been, and must be, the British Foreign Office. The devolution of self-governing powers to the colonies threatens to overweight the machine at its extremities. The danger which threatens the British Empire is the reverse of that which ruined the imperial system of Rome. The Roman imperialists realised the tendency of colonial dependencies to become disruptive. In order to meet the difficulty they overweighted the central administration, with the result that life in the provinces became impossible, the empire bled to death through the provincial arteries which were left unligatured. But equally fatal will be the result, if the different members of the empire become functionally disorganised. They will tend to operate against each other, and incurable complications will arise. In South Africa the interests of the new Union cannot be allowed to disturb the sentiments and interests of British India.

The position of the British Indian in South Africa has grown more difficult since 1895. By the Natal Act of that year the Act of 1891 was amended. The Act of 1891 provided for the indenture of Indian labourers for a period of five years. At the expiry of the indentures they were expected to remain in the country for another five years before returning to India. The idea seems to have been that they would re-indenture for another period of service. But the majority of the ex-indentured Indians devoted themselves to trading and farming. The Act of 1895 sought to check this tendency by insisting that at the close of the first period of indentures the Indian labourer should either avail himself of a free passage back to India, or re-indenture for periods of two years. If they remained in South Africa and failed to re-indenture,

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

they were subjected to an annual tax of £3 per head.¹ The amendment was accepted by the Government of India, and became a condition of all future indentures. The condition was explained to the coolies before they left India, but Sir Benjamin Robertson, the representative of the Government of India, examined by the Royal Commission of 1914, pointed out that it was not grasped by many of the coolies. For this difficulty the Government of India must accept responsibility, since they had given consent to the regulation. Moreover, the policy of the Colonial Government was hindered by the fact that the Government of India insisted that if any ex-indentured Indian broke the regulation, no criminal proceedings should be taken against him.² The Colonial Government told him to return to India, the Indian Government replied that the Colonial Government could not harm him if he refused to follow the suggestion.

In 1903 the pressure exerted by the Colonial Government became more pronounced. The amendment of 1895 was applied to the children of Indian immigrants who came under Act 17 (1895), § 2. Failing indentures, a boy above sixteen or a girl above thirteen was placed under the necessity of taking out a £3 license. The hardship imposed by this regulation upon the large family of a small Indian trader or farmer is obvious. The Government of India made no protest.³

Great difficulty was experienced in collecting the tax. Further legislation took place in 1905, under which no employer might engage an Indian labourer, who was liable under the Act of 1895, and who did not produce his license.⁴

The complaints of the Indian community were voiced by their representative, Mr. Gandhi, who organised the

¹ Report of Indian Inquiry Commission (April 1914), p. 25. Originally a tax of £25 was suggested, but the objection of the Government of India prevented it. Saint Nihal Singh, *Fortnightly Review* (March 1914).

² *Ibid.*, p. 26.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

first passive resistance movement of 1906. In 1910 the Government met the claims of the petitioners by allowing Resident magistrates, at their discretion, to remove the tax from women, who had in many cases been compelled to resort to immoral practices to obtain money for the payment of the tax.¹ But it is significant that an attempt to make this discretionary regulation general and compulsory was defeated in the Union Parliament in the summer of 1913, in spite of the fact that it had the full sympathy of Lord Crewe, the Secretary of State for India.² A further measure of relief was granted under the Act of 1910, which prohibited the collection of arrears of the £3 license during any period of re-indenture of not less than two years, and cancelled them in the event of the labourer's return to India. Payment could also be remitted at the discretion of the Resident Magistrate, on account of ill-health, old age, or some other just cause.³

The Act of 1910 closed the legislation on the question of the £3 license. It was alleged that in 1912, during the visit of Mr. Gokhale to South Africa, a representative of the Union Government promised Mr. Gokhale that the tax should be removed.⁴ Considerable doubt exists as to the nature of the promise made by General Smuts. But it is clear that the Indian community were under the impression that such a pledge was given.⁵ Moreover, in the British House of Lords, a similar interpretation was placed upon the conversation.⁶ The Union Government later denied that the pledge was given.⁷ It was ignored

¹ Report of the Indian Inquiry Commission (April 1914), p. 25. Further Correspondence, Sept. 1912, p. 10. Correspondence, Dec. 1913, p. 17. . . . But the Commissioners stated "that in practice the authorities have virtually ceased to collect the tax from women." Report, p. 28.

² Correspondence, Dec. 1913, pp. 17-18.

³ Report of Indian Inquiry Commission (April 1914), p. 28.

⁴ Correspondence, Dec. 1913, p. 64.

⁵ *Ibid.*, July 1913, p. 31, and Dec. 1913, pp. 17, 64.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Dec. 1913, p. 38.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

in the Immigrants Regulation Act of 1913, with the result that the question of the tax became a leading factor in the passive resistance movement of 1913.

It forms, indeed, the radical question in the whole Indian problem. It is the concrete expression of the attitude of the Colonial Government towards the Indian community. Other points are in dispute between the Government and the "free" and ex-indentured Indians, notably the marriage question. But the £3 tax links up the two sections of the Indians in South Africa against the Colonial Government.

The conditions of life and labour among the indentured Indians are clearly defined by the terms of indenture. Not even the acute marriage question touches them. But the indentured labourer knows that so soon as his period of service is over, if he wishes to join the other section of the Indian community by remaining in South Africa, he will be compelled to pay the £3 tax. Consequently his support¹ has been given to the "free" and ex-indentured Indians in connection with additional grievances. These are concerned with the right of entry of their wives, the right of migration from one province to another, the regulations which control leave of absence from South Africa, and with the treatment of Indians at the immigration offices. The leaders of passive resistance among this section of the Indian population have been able to call out the indentured Indians to support the movement by striking, and they have accomplished this by urging upon the indentured Indians that the £3 tax looms ahead of them if they wish to remain in South Africa. Mr. Saint Nihal Singh has pointed out that the policy of the Government is to keep out the "free" and ex-indentured Indians, while no objection is made to those who are slaving in the mines and on the plantations.¹

After the £3 tax, the marriage laws of South Africa

¹ Saint Nihal Singh, *Fortnightly Review* (March 1914).

AFRICA AND THE EAST

are the chief source of grievance. The Immigration Law of 1913¹ sanctioned the entry of any wife, or child by such wife, of "a lawful and monogamous marriage duly celebrated according to the rights of any religious faith outside the Union." The object of the Legislature was to admit the wife of an immigrant, provided she were his only wife, even where the marriage had been celebrated according to the rites of a religion which recognised polygamy.² A letter from the Government of India to Lord Crewe, dated 3rd July, 1913, pointed out that it was very doubtful whether the marriage of any Hindu or Muhammadan could be recognised as monogamous, even if he married only one wife,³ in view of the fact that both religions recognise polygamous marriage.

The Government of India asked for an assurance to protect an undertaking made in a letter dated 24th April, 1913, from Mr. Fischer, a Minister, to Lord Gladstone, the Governor-General, to the effect that the Government of South Africa "will still admit one wife per man, as before, so long as she is really his wife, whether she has been married by a custom which recognises polygamous marriages or not." This assurance had also been given by Mr. Fischer in a debate on the Immigration Act, and was taken by Lord Crewe as a guarantee to obviate any difficulty which might arise from Section 5 (g) of the Act.⁴

On the 2nd July, 1913, Mr. Gandhi wrote to the Secretary for the Interior in South Africa, pointing out the same difficulty, but asking in addition that the wife might be admitted, regardless of the number of wives living in India, provided she were the only one in South Africa.⁵ The assurance was given to Mr. Gandhi by General Smuts on the 19th August, 1913, by a letter which stated that "the present practice of admitting one wife

¹ Immigrants Regulation Act, 1913, § 5 (g).

² Report of Indian Inquiry Commission (April 1914), p. 18.

³ Correspondence, Dec. 1913, p. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

of an Indian now entitled to reside in any Province or who may in future be permitted to enter the Union irrespective of the fact that his marriage to such wife may have been solemnised according to tenets which recognise polygamy, or that she is one of several wives married abroad, will be continued so long as she is his only wife in South Africa.”¹ On the 22nd September, 1918, the assurance was confirmed in a telegram from the Governor-General to the Secretary of State, but with the reservation that if the threat, made by the Indian community, of the reopening of the passive resistance movement were fulfilled, the South African Government would have to reconsider its concession.²

The correspondence proves conclusively that the South African Government was made aware of the possible evasion, on the part of immigration officers, of the privilege confirmed to the Indians by the Act of 1913. The Government protested, by written and verbal assurances, against the possibility of evasion. Yet in the month of August the Natal Courts refused to sanction the entry of a woman named Kulsan Bibi, the wife of a certain Mahboob Khan, on the ground that the marriage had taken place according to the rites of a system that was polygamous. It was, therefore, not a monogamous marriage. This decision was given by the Immigration Board in spite of the fact that the Board of Appeal had found that Kulsan Bibi was the only *lawful* living wife of Mahboob Khan.³ The report of the Indian Inquiry Commission states that the woman was refused admission on the ground that Mahboob Khan already had another wife living with him in Natal, but it also points out that the Natal Courts based their decision on the argument that a marriage celebrated under a polygamous system, although *de facto* mono-

¹ Correspondence, Dec. 1913, p. 24, and Report of Indian Inquiry Commission (April 1914), p. 18.

² Correspondence, Dec. 1913, p. 23.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

gamous, was in reality polygamous. Therefore the woman had no legal right to enter South Africa.

This judgment was made in defiance of the assurances given by the Government of South Africa. In principle it was a reversion to the Searle judgment of 1910. The Court had then decided that marriages celebrated in South Africa, according to rites under which polygamy was allowed, were not recognised; and the children of such marriages were looked upon as illegitimate.¹ It was an application of the Searle judgment, which was concerned with marriages performed by Indians already settled in the country, to the case of Indians about to enter the country.

A second point in the marriage question was the admission of the plural wives of a certain number of Indians who had been long resident in South Africa. In a letter of August 24, 1913, Mr. Gandhi asked that permission for the entry of plural wives in this case might continue to be recognised as hitherto. But it was not clear that any such recognition had been made by the Government. Mr. Gandhi's request was based upon the reply of the Chief Immigration Officer to Mr. Cachalia on July 10—a letter entirely non-committal in tone. Sir Benjamin Robertson suggested that a register should be made of such persons residing in Natal, and that the request should be granted. The Principal Immigration Officer of Natal informed the Commission of Inquiry that up to the last seven or ten years it had been customary to allow the entry of more than one wife of Indians domiciled in Natal, but recently the right of entry had been restricted to one wife. He thought there were from fifty to a hundred old Indians in Natal, to whom the privilege had been allowed, and that their case could be met by the registration of their names.² Similarly, the difficulty could be met in other parts of South Africa.

¹ Report of Indian Inquiry Commission (April 1914), p. 21.

² *Ibid.*, p. 19.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

A third point was raised on the question of the celebration of marriages between Indian men and women in South Africa according to the rites of their own religion.¹ This difficulty had been met in the case of Muhammadans in Cape Colony by Act 18 of 1860, and in Natal by Act 18 of 1881, which authorised the appointment of marriage officers drawn from the Muhammadan community for the celebration of Muhammadan marriages. But under the law of South Africa such marriages would be recognised as monogamous, and the right to polygamy would thereby be renounced. Consequently for some years no marriage officers were appointed for the Muhammadans. They preferred to contract alliances which were regarded by South African law as illegitimate, rather than violate their religion by surrendering their right to polygamy.

At the date of Mr. Gandhi's letter (July 2, 1913), two points remained obscure. It is doubtful whether the Muhammadans would still refuse to avail themselves of the services of a marriage officer. Secondly, the attitude of the rest of the Indian community was not explicitly stated. It can only be inferred that Mr. Gandhi desired, in the name of the Indian community, the appointment of marriage officers who should celebrate marriages according to the religious rites of the applicant. The indentured Indians were not affected by this point. Act 25 of 1891 of Natal provided that none but monogamous marriages should be recognised among them. The fact that in 1912 there were 1,075 marriages solemnised before the Protector of Immigrants proves that the indentured Indians have no grievance on the marriage question.

A fourth difficulty, also not very clearly expressed in Mr. Gandhi's letters, arises from the recognition of the right on the part of the Indians to contract a marriage before a priest, who is not a marriage officer, in those

¹ Report of Indian Inquiry Commission (April 1914), p. 20.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

cases where the first marriage has already been registered. For all purposes of law the first wife only, and her children, would receive recognition. But the monogamous nature of the first marriage would not be affected by any subsequent marriage celebrated before a priest who was not a marriage officer, nor should a charge of bigamy be brought after the subsequent contract had been made. South African law would not be broken, because the second contract would not be a legal marriage, and the religious sentiments of the Indian would be satisfied by permission to contract further alliances, without reference to the marriage officer, but with the consent of a priest. No legal recognition of polygamy need or would take place. Only the Muhammadan community have demanded the legal recognition of such polygamy, and Mr. Gandhi admits that such recognition could not be given.

With reference to this request it seems clear that the Government would have a strong case for refusing the petition. The claim for the right of entry of one wife, or even for the recognition of polygamy in the case of old Indian residents, together with the desire to have their marriages registered by a proper authority, are natural and just demands, which only a short-sighted and prejudiced policy can refuse. But the attempt to cover what would be *de facto* polygamy by the recognition of a purely legal monogamy would amount to a fiction which could not fail to encourage an unnecessary increase in the Indian community. If, on the one hand, the right of the Government of South Africa to check the growth of the Indian population can be questioned on imperial grounds, at least it must not be asked to circumvent its scruples by resort to a legal fiction of this nature.

A number of minor grievances have been lodged against the administration of the Immigration Acts. Natives of India in South Africa are in the habit of returning to India

¹ Report of Indian Inquiry Commission (April 1914), p. 21 ff.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

on a holiday, or for business purposes. The Act of 1913 (Section 25, sub-section 2) requires the Immigration Authority to issue an identification certificate, permitting leave of absence for one year only. In some cases the period is not sufficiently long, and occasions have arisen where the Indian on his return, being a few days late, has been refused admission until after a considerable delay, during which the applicant has to pass through the tedious process of satisfying the Immigration Officer of his identity.¹ Closely connected with this difficulty is the question of the re-entry of Indians into Natal who had left the country with a domicile certificate issued before the Act of 1913 came into force. These domicile certificates—now replaced by the identification certificates—contained an impression of the thumb of the holder. A complaint is made that, when the holder returns to Natal, the Immigration Officer is not satisfied with comparing the applicant's thumb-mark with that on the face of the certificate, but refuses him admission until he has independently investigated the fact of the applicant's domicile (three years' residence) before he left Natal for India.²

It has been said that the Immigration Officers in Cape Town exceed their instructions by insisting not only upon photographs and thumb impressions being given to them for purposes of identification, but also upon finger-marks being furnished.³ From the Transvaal came the complaint that temporary "permits" to visit another province could only be obtained by a personal application at Pretoria. It was suggested that authority to issue permits might be given to resident magistrates.⁴ A fee of £1 is charged for the issue of an identification certificate or of a temporary permit; while in Natal a further charge of £1 is made for each extension of the period allowed by a permit.⁵ Moreover, the person to whom a

¹ Report of Indian Inquiry Commission (April 1914), p. 34.

² *Ibid.*, p. 37. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 36. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 36. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

permit is issued is required to place a deposit with the authority who issues it.¹ Further hindrance is caused by the action of the Immigration Officer, who telegraphs to the officer in the province to which the applicant for a permit is going, to know whether he has any objection to the issue of the certificate.² In the issue of the identification certificates there is also, sometimes, considerable delay,³ which is made worse at Cape Town by the absence of any official interpreter for Indian languages. The applicants have to obtain assistance from unofficial agents who charge extortionate fees. Lastly, in those cases where the wives and children of Indians domiciled in South Africa are seeking admission, it cannot be ascertained until they arrive at Cape Town or Durban whether they will be allowed to land. Sometimes they are refused admission after the expense of bringing them from India has been incurred.⁴

It has already been stated that strong opposition to the policy of the Government was organised in the Indian community by Mr. Gandhi, who was assisted by Mr. Cachalia, the President of the British Indian Association. The opposition took the form of passive resistance, which first broke out in 1906. In the early stages of the movement the indentured Indian labourers were not involved. Passive resistance dragged on until April 1911, when certain assurances made by General Smuts, enabled Mr. Gandhi to persuade the South African Indians to abandon passive resistance.⁵ The Indian community understood that the "existing rights of Indians" would be respected when the legislation, postponed in the session of 1911, was reintroduced.⁶ The Immigration Bill again came up before the Union Parliament in 1912, but was

¹ Report of Indian Inquiry Commission (April 1914), p. 37. No fee is charged for the extension of a permit in Cape Colony.

² *Ibid.*, p. 34.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 37

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁵ Further Correspondence, Sept. 1912, p. 4.

⁶ Report of Indian Inquiry Commission (April 1914), p. 16.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

again abandoned, owing to hostile criticism in the House of Assembly, directed especially against the dictation test.¹ At length, on June 14, 1913, the Immigrants Regulation Act received the assent of the Governor-General, and came into operation on August 1. At once an agitation commenced in the Indian community arising out of the grievances already set forth. Passive resistance recommenced in October, when sixteen Indians, including four women, crossed the Natal border into the Transvaal, thereby breaking the emigration regulations. They were taken back across the border, but after repeatedly re-entering the Transvaal, they were imprisoned.² By the end of October Mr. Gandhi had gained the support of the indentured labourers on the Natal coalfields by ventilating the grievance of the £3 license.³ Thus the two sections of the Indian community were linked up. Some 4,000 men came out on strike, and it was stated that 150 passive resisters were in gaol. The number of convictions threatened to increase indefinitely by the reported advance of 1,400 to 1,500 Indians to Newcastle, in order to cross the border into the Transvaal.⁴ During November the police, assisted by the South African Mounted Rifles, came into collision with the strikers at Mount Edgecombe, Esperanza, and La Mercy.⁵ Nine of the strikers were killed and about twenty-five were wounded. By the first week in December the disturbance came to an end, and all the men returned to work.

A Commission of Inquiry was at once appointed. The commissioners completely exonerated the police from the charge of undue exercise of force. They then proceeded to examine the cause of the disturbance, and devoted special attention to the specific grievances of the Indians. No assistance was given to the commissioners by the

¹ Further Correspondence, Sept. 1912, p. 26.

² Correspondence, Dec. 1913, p. 30.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁵ Report of Indian Inquiry Commission (April 1914), pp. 2-11.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

Indians themselves.¹ But in spite of the refusal of the aggrieved parties to appear for the purpose of giving evidence, the Commission reported in favour of their demands, and recommended concession on every point of importance.

The Commission found that the £3 tax placed a premium on vagrancy, and penalised industrious labour. It was objectionable on principle, because it placed a penalty upon residence. Moreover, it caused considerable irritation and discontent on account of its incidence.² Up to a few years ago the tax was able to secure the return of a certain number of ex-indentured labourers to India. But the rise in wages of the last few years, now prevents the tax from producing this result. It is thereby failing to attain the object for which it was imposed.³ The Commission recommended its removal by a repeal of "Section 6 of Act 17 of 1895, so as to leave the Indians who fell under the provisions of the Act in the same position as those who were indentured under the Indian Immigration Act, 1891."⁴ "We have to realise the fact that the indentured Indians have been brought here to serve our own needs, that for better or for worse the majority of them have come to stay, and that in the interests of good government it is desirable to remove as far as possible any causes of irritation."⁵

Similar recommendations were made regarding the marriage question. Section 5 (g) of the Immigrants Regulation Act, 1913, should be amended in order to allow the entry of one wife, regardless of the religious rites or customs under which it had been celebrated. The older Indian residents should be allowed to retain their plural wives provided their names are placed on a register. Marriage officers should be appointed in South Africa to

¹ Report of Indian Inquiry Commission (April 1914), p. 3.

² *Ibid.*, p. 29.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY

enable the Indians to marry according to the rites of their respective religions. The commissioners also made the exceedingly liberal suggestion that Indian immigrants should be allowed to contract recognised alliances with more than one woman, provided that one of these connections was made legally monogamous by registration. *De facto* polygamy would be overcome, in this case, by the declaration of *de lege* monogamy.¹

To meet the grievances alleged against the administration of the Immigration laws, the commissioners recommended that a certificate, granting leave of absence, should remain in force for three years. An interpreter should be provided at the office of the Immigration Department at Cape Town, and applicants for permits and certificates should be encouraged to appear personally; and at their request the application forms should be filled in by a clerk from the information supplied by the applicants. The practice of demanding photographs and finger-marks in addition to thumb-marks, for purposes of identification, should be discontinued. Permits for emigration from one part of the country to another should be issued by the resident magistrate, or by some other official residing in the nearest country town. The charge of £1 on application for a certificate or permit should be materially reduced, and a uniform charge made throughout South Africa. No deposit should be demanded from Indians of standing before a permit is granted. Domicile certificates, issued by the Immigration Department, should be treated as a conclusive right on the part of the holder to enter the country, after his identity has been established. An inquiry into the genuineness of the claim made by wives and children to enter South Africa should be made in India before the applicants sail.²

¹ Report of Indian Inquiry Commission (April 1914), pp. 18-24.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 33-38. Cf. Appendix I. Most of these recommendations have been embodied in the Indians Relief Act passed in Nov. 1914 (No. 22).

CHAPTER IV

LABOUR IN AFRICA—THE WIDER ISSUES

IF the recommendations of the Commissioners were accepted by the Union Government and put into effect, the local difficulty in the problem would be settled. But the wider imperial issue would still remain at stake. That issue hangs upon the answer made to the question: "Has the British Indian a right to migrate to Africa and to settle there?" The Government of India have stopped the emigration of indentured labourers to South Africa, but the door is open to any British Indian, who can satisfy the immigration laws, to enter the country for purposes of trade and farming. The European Colonial wants neither indentured nor free Indian. He is agitating to make life impossible for either.

A possible solution of the South African difficulty would be to bar South Africa completely to immigrants from India, and to open up British Central Africa and certain parts of British East Africa to them. South Africa is, by climate, a white man's country. The white man, therefore, has the prior claim to possess it. On the other hand, British Central Africa and British East Africa, with the exception of the Shire Highlands,¹ are unsuited to the white man for permanent settlement. British Indians are not affected by the climate in these regions; they should, therefore, be

¹ Sir Harry Johnston, *Contemporary Review* (August 1911). W. S. Churchill, *My African Journey* (1908), p. 45 ff. W. Wybergh, *Contemporary Review* (June 1907). Sir Harry Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate* (1902), p. 299. Sir Charles Eliot, *The East African Protectorate* (1905), p. 151 ff.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

allowed to regard them as an emigration preserve, an equivalent for that section of the British Empire in South Africa to which they would waive all claim to enter.

Germany has encouraged the settlement of Indians in the unoccupied districts of German East Africa, and has treated the immigrants very well.¹ If German East Africa falls under the British dominion as the result of the war, it will not be possible to extend to the resident Indian population any terms less generous than those which they already enjoy. But the British administration will at once be faced by the question of the Indian's status in every other colony in Africa. It will be difficult to deny to British Indians, in regions outside German East Africa, the privileges allowed to them in that territory, especially after the loyal response of the Indian peoples to the Empire's military necessities.

The day is fast approaching when some practicable settlement of the claims of the black and brown man to a permanent occupation of large regions in Africa will have to be met. The only solution which presents any possibility of stable results will entail the frank recognition of the right of black and brown man to share with the white man the wide territories of our African dominions. There can be no surrender to the desire of the white trader or settler to exploit, solely in his own interests, the land and people of Africa, in all parts of the continent, especially if he seeks the assistance of the British Indian to supply labour.

There need be no indiscriminate settlement, whereby white, brown, and black are scattered over the continent in one great conglomerate community. Confusion and conflict only could follow such an intermixture of uncongenial elements. Africa is sufficiently large to allow separate districts to be allocated to white, brown and black, in which each of these three races respectively might

¹ But cf. Evans Lewin, *The Germans in Africa* (1915), pp. 110-128, 269-284, on the harsh treatment of the native races by the Germans.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

dwelling predominant over the representatives of other races whom business or pleasure brought into those regions. In British South Africa and parts of British East Africa the law of the white man should reign supreme, and any native or British Indian entering these regions should be subject to regulations made in favour of the white man. Other parts of Africa, especially West Africa, do not allow the white man to remain in the country for any length of time. These districts should be governed in the interests of the black man, and he should be regarded as the natural legatee of the soil. British East Africa—except the Shire Highlands—and Central Africa are particularly suited by climate to the settlement of British Indians. Certain reserves should be marked off for the native populations already settled upon the land, and in these districts the interests of the British Indian should have the first claim upon the Government.

By some such practical application of Mr. Wybergh's principle the imperial race problem in Africa might gradually be solved. There need be no diminution of British authority in those districts where the brown or black interest was confessedly predominant. Nor need the administration be taken from the hands of British officials. Nor, again, need the white man be shut out of these areas. But any white trader or settler who came into a district specially allotted to the native or British Indian community would have to submit to regulations administered in the interests of the brown and black man. The same policy would control the movements of brown and black man in South Africa.

The labour question in South Africa is one of the symptoms of the great problem of black *versus* white which has puzzled civilised nations from the beginning of historical times. A recent writer¹ asserted that whoever has tampered with the negro has placed on his

¹ E. D. Morel, *Nineteenth Century* (March 1914).

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

own neck a burden which can never be shaken off. The black problem of the southern states of America is the legacy of an older labour question. In ancient times, the gradual decline of the Roman Empire was largely influenced by the evil effects of the slave system upon family life. Among the Roman slaves of the Empire were a large number of negros.

There can be no doubt that African labour offers a vast contribution to the material wealth of the western world, a contribution as large as that offered by yellow labour to the Asiatic world.¹ Much has already been achieved for the material civilisation of the West by the aid of black labour. But failure to adjust fairly the relations between black and white has counterbalanced this result by creating an inter-racial problem which threatens the existence of one-half of the North American Continent. The abolition of slavery has not been followed by the discovery of any system whereby black and white can live together in one conglomerate community.

In South Africa the British Empire is faced by a similar problem, less acute only because the industries of the country were developed late enough to escape any connection with slavery as a recognised economic system, but a problem in which the labour question is again threatening the existence of the whole community. The danger looming ahead in South Africa will appear in every one of the other British African possessions so soon as they reach a similar state of industrial progress.

The problem is made worse by the fact that it does not resolve itself into a question of the simple adjustment of the conditions of labour between black and white. It is more subtle. It is concerned with after-effects. It does not appear until black labour or brown has been employed for some decades, and until it has become almost inextricably wrought into the whole industrial and economic

¹ Lady Lugard, *A Tropical Dependency* (1905), p. 4.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

system. The history of negro labour in North America, and the story of Bantu and Indian labour in South Africa, prove that the danger does not appear until the question of the labour supply becomes one of settling the labourers who have fulfilled their term of service. The vital problem for North America did not lie in the ethical question of slavery, but in the economic fact of the presence of a large black community contiguous to, and often intermixed with, the white community. The abolition of slavery did not transfer the negroes from North America. So, too, the definition of the terms of service for black and brown labour in Africa, which are framed to prevent the Bantu and Indian from settling in the midst of the white men, have not been followed by the desired result. The regulations have only made the problem more acute. In fact, the failure of the immigration laws in South Africa, and of the Liberian experiment, so far as it concerned the negro question in America,¹ prove that no expedients devised after the event are likely to be successful. The Indians have not left South Africa, and the American negroes have not gone to Liberia. So, too, the Bantu races in Cape Colony and Natal, in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, are creating a difficult race problem by the mere fact of their proximity to the white races.

A sign of coming trouble appeared in the Zulu outbreak of 1906. The Native Affairs Commission of 1906-7 confirmed the warning note. For the last ten years contributors to the leading Reviews have continuously drawn attention to the question. It is a problem which will tax not merely the discretion and ingenuity of the administrative system, but the public spirit and imperial patriotism of every white trader and settler. Everything points to the conclusion that black and white cannot continue indefinitely to live together in one heterogeneous community. The marriage bar renders fusion impossible,

¹ Sir Harry Johnston, *Liberia* (1906), p. 342.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

and without a blood fusion of the two races no solution of the difficulty *in loco* is possible. Race is stronger than nationality, stronger than empire. Racial difficulties have prevented the solidification of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Race questions have prevented the solution of the Balkan problem. Racial antipathies hindered the coalescence of the different units of the Roman Empire, and finally sent it to its ruin. So, too, racial problems will make impossible the continuous existence of the British dominion in Africa, unless, as in the case of India, the claim of the native races to special treatment is granted. "Africa for the Africans" must become as sure a principle of imperial policy as "India for the Indians" has been in our Eastern dependency.

The history of British relations with India and Africa possesses no small measure of resemblance. In each case trade was responsible for the appearance of Englishmen in the native communities. In each case British policy has favoured the interests of the trader in the early stages of white settlement. The British East India Company was the prototype of the British South Africa Company, the African Lakes Company, and the Royal Niger Company. But in India the interests of the white trading community have long been made subservient to the general interests of the Indian peoples. India is now governed, not on behalf of British commerce, but for the people of India. The gratifying result has followed that British trade has not suffered, but has increased, with the recognition of imperial responsibility to India. One-third of the trade of Britain is carried on with India.

As in the earlier history of the British relations with India, the native races of Africa have been exploited by European traders. But the epoch has not yet arrived when trading interests are made to give way to the prior consideration of the government of the African people in the interest of the native races. The problem in Africa

AFRICA AND THE EAST

is made worse by reason of the fact that there are at least two areas in which the climate allows the permanent settlement of a white community. Administrative difficulties in India connected with the control of trade have been materially assisted to a solution by the check which climate places upon white settlement. But in South Africa the white man is able to settle, and to bring up children, and to see his children's children. He is, therefore, the less willing to admit the claim of the black man to a priority of interest in the country. In India the native races must oust the white man in the end, because the white man cannot stand the climate beyond a certain limit of time. In South Africa the native receives no geographical assistance of this nature.¹

Consequently the white and black races face each other in South Africa in a conflict which is bound to result in the ejection of one or the other. It has been pointed out that the marriage bar constitutes the real difficulty in the problem of black *versus* white. That is the only deduction to be made from the fact that no matter how civilised the black man becomes by means of Christianity and education, or how well qualified to take part in the franchise and to contribute to taxation, he will never be recognised as the equal mate of the white woman, or *vice versa*.² Fusion, therefore, cannot take place, and while two races dwell together, but remain organically separate, no administrative device can permanently overcome the recurring expression of racial antipathies. The only solution of the race problem in South Africa lies in a gradual repatriation of the Bantu races to those regions north of the Zambesi from which they came originally.

This end must be achieved by a humane but firm

¹ But it has been pointed out that Africa as a whole can never be a white man's country.—Sir Harry Johnston, *British Central Africa* (1906), p. 182.

² But cf. chap. xvi.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

policy of repression. The black man must be made to feel that South Africa is not a comfortable place to live in. He should be encouraged by special facilities to transfer himself north of the Zambesi. One writer has pointed out that any recognition of the principle of equality between white and black in a country where the black population is numerically predominant and physically vigorous is certain to end in the displacement of the white man.¹ If the white community is content to remain in South Africa only so long as the fruits of industrial enterprise are forthcoming, no great change in policy need be entertained, for the native races can enter into the place vacated by the white man when trade of a certain character is no longer profitable. But the climate and soil of South Africa are such that after the mines are exhausted a white population can still secure a profitable existence. In the presence of this latter fact alone the white man cannot afford to recognise the equality of the black man.

But if the native races are to be ejected gradually from South Africa and, let it be said, from the Shire Highlands of East Africa, then some equivalent treatment must be offered to them in other parts of Africa. The solution is the same as that suggested for the East Indian problem. The vast regions of West and Central Africa, together with the greater part of East Africa, must be thrown open to them. Moreover, these areas must be administered in their interest first. The British dependencies, as distinct from the British colonies in Africa, must be governed on the analogy of India, due allowance being made for the more backward condition of the African races, but every opportunity being given to train them to take a part in the government, after the manner of their fellow-subjects in India. The administration of the African dependencies will, therefore, continue to be parental and autocratic. One of the radical difficulties pointed out by the Native

¹ W. Wybergh, *Contemporary Review* (June 1907).

AFRICA AND THE EAST

Affairs Commission of 1906-7 in Natal is the failure of the native races to understand the theory of delegated authority and representative government.¹ The chief commissioner for the natives changes from time to time. The personal tie, so real to the concrete form of the native mind, is broken. In West Africa the system in vogue supplies the personal element wanting in the government of the native races in South Africa, where the native sees no continuity, no permanent element of government. At the same time the native should be trained to contribute to taxation by insistence upon habits of industry, and after a while, as education spreads, he should be admitted to some form of franchise which will allow him to share in the government of the country.

There need be no violent upheaval of the tribal organisation in order to achieve these ends. In West Africa the administration has been able to make use of the native chiefs, with the best results. Tribal integrity and individual self-respect have been maintained, while the hegemony of the British administration remains intact. The success achieved by the preservation of tribal institutions in Basutoland² shows what can be done in the hinterlands of Africa by judicious concessions to native methods of government, combined with a moderate dissemination of western education and religious teaching. It may not be possible to find a chief with the ability of Mosheh to control the affairs of every inland native nation, but by supplementing the natural deficiencies of chiefs of approved character and ability, with a wise supervision by the British administration of the coast districts, it should be possible to train the native races in the methods of sound government. Indeed, the chief difficulty would not arise from the natives themselves, but from the self-centred tendencies of white trading and farming

¹ Report of Native Affairs Commission (1906-7), p. 12.

² Sir Godfrey Lagden, *The Basutos* (1909).

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

interests. But the solution of this difficulty should not be beyond the capacity of a just but strong Government.

If clearly defined zones were demarcated in which the native could rest assured of good government, combined with a large measure of independence and freedom from the competition of white men, one of the difficulties of repatriation from the labour areas of the white districts would be overcome. After two or three years of contact with white men, in the mines and on the plantations, the native is frequently unwilling to return to the old life of hut and kraal, because of the insecurity to settled habits of life in undeveloped areas, or because the semi-barbarism of the old conditions are no longer acceptable to him. Consequently the ex-labourer hangs around the industrial centres of the white man, and becomes a source of irritation to the white people, who cannot treat him as an equal, while the inferiority of his own position makes him always discontented.

The great industrial centres of the region south of the Zambesi can only be adequately supplied with labour from the regions north of that river. But when the labourer comes from the shores of the great lakes, or from Uganda or British East Africa, or even West Africa, it must be impressed upon him that he cannot come to settle. So long as the mines continue to be worked, the demand will increase for cheap native labour, as the deeper levels are reached. There are ample supplies in Central and East Africa.¹ The standard of life is so simple in these areas that the native can be satisfied with a wage much smaller than that demanded by the Bantu races of South Africa. The money which he could get together, if he were properly cared for in the mines and on the plantations, would represent a small fortune when he returned to his own district. But he should be protected from the aggression of labour agents when the recruiting

¹ Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate* (1902), p. 283.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

contracts are arranged, and from the demands of small traders at the industrial centres, in order to preserve to him the fruits of his labour. He must also be faithfully repatriated by the proper authority.

When he returned to his own district some opportunity for settled industry should be provided. That would be the care of the tribal authorities, supervised by the British administration. His own savings would supply the necessary capital. That the native is capable of carrying on free labour productively has been amply proved by the rapid success of the cocoa plantations in West Africa.¹ A similar opening is presented by the cotton plantations of East Africa and Uganda, while there is little reason to suppose that the same methods would not be successful if applied to the rubber industry. The cocoa plantations of the Gold Coast and Ashanti have proved that a system of free native labour not only tends to the sure and steady development of the native races in a life of quiet industry, but is also the most profitable economic system for the white trader of the coast lands. The cocoa plantations have proved that slavery, or even indentured labour, is not a necessity on the plantations of Africa, that the best return for European capital is to be secured by this method of cultivation, and that the native is capable of leading a life of settled industry without the supervision of taskmaster or overseer. So successful has been the experiment on the British cocoa plantations that its introduction into the German Cameroons has been recommended by the commercial representatives of the German Government.²

But not only would the administrative and economic difficulties created by the presence of ex-labourers in South Africa be solved by a repatriation scheme of this nature, a solution would also be forthcoming for the dangerous sex question which threatens an explosion between black and

¹ E. D. Morel, *Nineteenth Century* (March 1914).

² *Ibid.*

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY

white in South Africa. So long as the two races dwell closely together the black girl will remain open to the advances of the white man, while the white woman will constantly need careful protection from the black man. Not only so, but the growing number of the half-caste population, shunned equally by black and white, is a source of increasing alarm. Black women should not be allowed to enter the white areas, save as domestic servants, and then only to houses which have the approval of the administration. If every black labourer were repatriated at the end of his term of service, the possibility of attacks upon white women would be greatly reduced.

In this question, as in all others which concern the relations between black and white, the greater difficulty arises from the settled black population. This problem is not capable of a rapid solution, but by the exercise of firm though just pressure upon the native races, by the refusal to create any more native reservations of land, by the refusal to sanction any further native purchases of land, and still more through the gradual acquisition by the Government of farms already possessed by natives, they could be gradually edged into the territories north of the Zambesi. The process would quicken in momentum by means of the lure which the creation of native districts in other parts of Africa would hold forth.

CHAPTER V

CHRISTIANITY AND AFRICAN LABOUR QUESTIONS

THE civilisation which is called Western is the slowly developed product of religion. Through all the stages of its development the "élan vital" has been religion. Civilisation, like life, represents a continuous process of creation and re-creation, not by means of external influences, which bear upon it at what are called critical or epoch-making eras, bending it this way and that, according to the direction of some external will, but by means of an inward energy which operates by a continuous process, not by a mere procession from point to point. It is something more than the "activism" of Eucken, which represents the upward tendency of a principle of life embedded in uncongenial matter towards a spiritual source from which it came, and to which it must sooner or later return. If philosophy can assist in the analysis of the nature and development of civilisation, Bergson rather than Eucken supplies a sound clue to a solution.

Western civilisation has surged forward to its present high-water mark by means of the internal pressure of its inner Christian "élan," an impulse which is but the expression of a Christian principle of life moving within. All that appears on the surface, which is not extraneous matter, is the result of the inward movement. The outer shell of material substance is formed from within, the rind is the result of the combination and re-combination of the little cells of gelatinous existence buried deeply within. So the form of western civilisation has not been superimposed from without. It has come from the life

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

principle within, a principle of life which does not seek to cast off its shell in order to return to its original source, but a principle of life self-contained and self-inspired, living on by constant movement and relying for the future upon its own progress and development.

We need to remember this philosophy when we go forth to colonise and to govern the backward races of the earth. All that is best in our civilisation comes from within, and has not been gained by any moulding and shaping from without. Especially is this true of the British type of western civilisation. The inward Christianity has been its "élan vital."

It is true that the life-principle cannot be ultimately checked by any activity which goes on upon the surface. But it may be hindered, and the rate of progress may be delayed. It may be delayed, not because the activity of the inner principle is lessened, but because it is diverted to the necessity of working through what has been imposed upon it. The labour of a settler upon a patch of virgin forest produces no results for many years. That is not because his energy is quiescent, but because it is diverted towards clearing away the trunks and roots of every tree encumbering the ground. The harvest comes in due course. He is a happier and a more quickly prosperous man if he can exert his energy at once upon a piece of open prairie. At the same time, any neglect of the energy within him, any attempt to rely upon past achievements, and to trust in a policy of *laissez-faire*, will bring ruin sooner or later. So, too, in the work of colonising and governing, the inward principle of life and energy, which has made civilisation what it is, cannot be neglected without dangerous results.

We are reaping the results of such neglect in some of our imperial problems. They have been caused by failure to remember the religion within. We have gone to distant parts of the world, taking with us results and not causes.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

We have sought to extend the sphere of our civilisation, not by attempting to transplant its inner life-principles, but by peeling off the rind, and attempting to wrap that around native forms of society and activity; and then we have wondered that even the outward shell has lost its bloom, and in some places has cracked and withered, allowing the disruptive tendencies of an alien life-force within to burst it asunder. We have been propagators of our administrative and social systems; we have not been missionaries of our religion. Western civilisation is the outward shell of Christianity, which forms its true life centre.

It may be objected that the transplantation of the Christian principle of life into native society can only end in disaster, because the seed is placed in uncongenial soil. But the correct statement of the difficulty is to say that to enwrap native society in the outward shell of western civilisation is a more artificial process, because by itself the form of civilisation contains no principle of life, and cannot be inspired by any foreign principle placed within it. The desideratum is a change at the centre of native life. That can only be achieved by the introduction of a principle of the same nature, by the substitution of another cause, not by the imposition of a mere effect. To transplant Christianity among the native races is a more true process than to propagate civilisation among them. They want new life at the centre, not a new covering on the surface.

Imperialism is a matter of religion. The extension of empire is an extension of religion. The success of an imperial policy depends upon the degree of attention paid to religion, which lies deeper than statesmanship, deeper than civilisation, which is, indeed the inspiration of both. Our young settlers and our young administrators must realise that they cannot afford to neglect Christianity in the new life in distant countries. They

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

are only imperialists so long as they remember that they are, in spite of themselves, religious men. Translated into practical terms the theory means that if the black and white races are unequal in intelligence and social capacity they are equal on the basis of a common humanity. The old doctrine of the "solidarity of humanity" needs to be revived and to be applied over a wider area. The Empire can only be extended securely by an extension of its religion, but that means that settler, trader and administrator must realise in the black man a capacity to receive Christianity.

Here the work of the Church has to be done, firstly, by grasping the other side of the question, that the dissemination of Christianity is an imperial work, and then by instilling the converse into the minds of all who go abroad to our distant possessions. The work of missions begins at home.

Too long have the great missionary organisations regarded themselves as independent of imperial policy and activity. Sir Harry Johnston records the hindrances placed before his pioneer work in Africa by members of the mission stations.¹ Not until they and the Church at home realise that the work of administrator and missionary have the same object in view will true imperial action and a true civilisation in tropical and sub-tropical regions be possible.

But the beginning must be made at home. The future missionary should be instructed in the aims and methods of imperial policy. The future administrator, settler, or trader should be taught to regard his future work as a religious enterprise. This is the twofold duty of the Church. It must be carried out by a broader spirit of sympathy, by a more fearless devotion to moral principles, and by a broader religious ethic than has yet

¹ Sir Harry Johnston, *British Central Africa* (1906), pp. 77, 107-8; *George Grenfell and the Congo* (1908), p. 14.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

appeared. The Church cannot afford to regard the functions of government, settlement and trade as different in essence from her own. The administrator, settler and trader cannot continue to believe that one moral code is in vogue at Liverpool and another at Freetown. The Church must not expect that the Bantu races will be able to comprehend at once the metaphysics of the Nicene statement of Christian belief. The initiative in all these matters rests with the Church at home. No amount of brotherhood, expressed in the terms of Kikuyu, will avail us much till an attempt has been made at home to make up our minds once and for all on these other matters. More important than to present a united front to the native races in the field of missionary enterprise is to reconcile the differences between the Church on the one hand and imperial and commercial policy upon the other. We need a Christian imperialism and a Christian commercialism. We also need an imperial Christianity and an economic religion. The young man going out to Africa, in whatever capacity, needs to be taught that any breach of Christian principle, either in morals or trade, is as much a breach of imperial tradition and patriotic duty as a refusal to obey an administrative regulation, or to pass a forged cheque. He should be taught that he goes forth not merely to maintain the honour of the British name, but also the integrity of the Christian faith. "The civilian, the trader, or the soldier who is selfish or contemptuous is taken by those among whom he lives as a representative of Christianity; and rightly so, for his character is the measure of the Church's failure." ¹

If the growth of a true imperial spirit depends upon the recognition of the Christian principle behind western civilisation, then the history of missionary enterprise should have a place in the training of the young man who

¹ W. Temple, *Foundations* (1912), p. 356. J. S. Mackenzie, Report of First Universal Race Congress (1911), p. 433 ff.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

goes to Africa or India. He should be enlightened as to its achievements, as well as instructed in its failures. Indeed, the story of foreign missions is as much a part of the story of the Empire as any record of administrative action or commercial expansion. No man should be regarded as qualified to express an opinion on imperial questions who has not made himself acquainted with the efforts of the Church to transplant into distant lands the true life-principle of our civilisation.

But when all has been done that training can secure, still greater care should be spent in selecting men of approved Christian character, at least for administrative work. Training is valueless if it does not influence character. The men selected need not be members of a Christian Union, but they should be something more than "Blues" and "First-classes." They should show signs of having absorbed the best teaching of the home Churches. We have to remember that Christianity is as much concerned with the men we send out to rule and to trade as with the native races among whom they will settle.

Lord Bryce has pointed out that the absence of clear and definite religious ideas prevents a race from attaining a cohesive and vigorous national life.¹ The religions of the native races of Africa are little more than loose collections of ideas, vague and puerile, arising from a superstitious devotion to the life of Nature around. They need a simple, but clear and definite system of religious teaching. Christianity can meet the need. Save in the north, where Islam is, indeed, advancing with alarming rapidity, there is no great system like Hinduism or Buddhism to be displaced before Christianity can obtain a footing. The absence of these great religions partly explains the extraordinary success of Christianity in Uganda² and in South Africa.³

¹ James Bryce, *Impressions of South Africa* (1898), p. 464.

² Churchill, *My African Journey* (1908), p. 114 ff.

³ James Bryce, *Impressions of South Africa* (1898), p. 473.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

By the continuous dissemination of Christian teaching a solvent is being applied to the problems arising from the contact of the races in Africa, and among them the labour problem. The value of Christianity in raising the general level of heathen society has been appreciated by many writers of experience during the last twenty years.¹ The mistakes made by the older missionaries have not been allowed to escape notice. But when everything has been balanced up, the unanimous agreement of these writers is in favour not merely of the spread of Christianity as a sound imperial principle of action, but also of missionary enterprise as a means of carrying it out. Being men of action rather than students of religion, it may be that these writers have over-emphasised the secular side of missionary work, and have claimed a more undogmatic Christian theology than is consistent with a sound exposition of the Christian faith. But the missionaries have something to learn from such observations. There can be no doubt that much of the religion instilled into the African races in former days was too sentimental, too unpractical, and resulted in the creation of a somewhat aggressive and obnoxious type of semi-Europeanised native. In the last few years a change has come over the methods of the home societies and of missionaries in the field. More careful selection is made before a missionary is accepted for training, a sounder and more profitable training is given to him, and when he reaches the field of action he pursues a wiser method in disseminating the Christian religion. He is not satisfied with teaching the natives to sit under palm-trees and sing hymns of a very doubtful

¹ Cf. Sir Godfrey Lagden, *The Basutos* (1909), and *Nineteenth Century* (March 1914); Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate* (1902); *British Central Africa* (1906); *Liberia* (1906); *George Grenfell and the Congo* (1908); Winston Churchill, *My African Journey* (1908); James Bryce, *Impressions of South Africa* (1898); Sir Charles Eliot, *The East African Protectorate* (1905); Sir A. Pease, *Contemporary Review* (July 1906), etc.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

theology, or to recite sections of a creed which he cannot possibly understand. More careful attention is given to the cultivation of Christian morality. Christian ethics rather than Christian theology are being taught. This does not mean that the great, simple doctrines of the faith are being neglected, but it does mean that the abstract dogmas of justification and sanctification are not pressed as formerly. More care, too, is taken with the education of the native races, not only in the simplicities of the three "R's," but in arts and crafts which equip them for the simpler industries of life.

It is in the spread of industrial education among the native races that most help can be brought by the missionaries to bear upon the labour problem. Not only the native who aspires to drive an engine or to engage in brick-laying or carpentry, but the unskilled labourer required in the mines and on the plantations, will be a better workman if he has been disciplined by a year or two spent in an industrial school. One of the chief difficulties experienced by employers of labour in Africa is the unstable and undisciplined character of the native labourer. Christian teaching and industrial training can do much to remove this trouble.

In the matter of recruiting labour the missionaries can be of the utmost use to the recruiting agent. The longer period of residence in the country gives the missionary a more intimate acquaintance with the natives in the locality than is possible for the Government servant or the trader, while constant peregrinations give him a wider range of experience than that obtained by the settler. These qualities should be an invaluable guide to the labour agent in the selection of natives for work on the Rand or in the coast regions of West Africa.

In the transit of the labourers from their native haunts to the industrial centres the assistance of the missionaries can be used with profit in the formation and maintenance

AFRICA AND THE EAST

of rest-houses. The experience of the leper asylums in India proves that the missionaries are willing to give their services to work of a social character, in return for the opportunities opened for evangelisation.¹ The effect upon the natives of Africa, as upon the lepers of India, could only be good. So, too, in the work of repatriation, the missionary is better qualified than any other European at present dwelling in Africa to extend a welcome to the returning labourer, to assist him, and to encourage him to settle down to a life of quiet industry in his own village or town. The value of the work of Christian missionaries, in helping the native races to resist the temptation to drink, proves that in at least one matter these suggestions have been tested and justified.² The great preliminary necessity is a better understanding between missionary and Government official. The missionary should yield a ready obedience to Government authority, while the official should defer more frequently to the deeper and broader local experience of the missionary.

¹ John Jackson, *Lepers* (1906).

² Cf. *infra*, chaps. vi.—x.

CHAPTER VI

AFRICA : THE LIQUOR QUESTION

ALCOHOLIC liquors have been consumed in Africa from time immemorial.¹ The absence of pure water, the frequent drying up of the streams, have compelled the natives to resort to various kinds of native beer, but more especially to spirits distilled from palm sap, honey, or grain, which are more easily preserved than beer. The heat of the African sun, together with the moisture in the atmosphere, lowers the vital energy of the system, and creates an acute desire for stimulants.² Consequently, drunkenness was not a new vice introduced by the European. The negro and kindred races are prone to excess in every direction. They are more deficient in moral stamina than most other races at an equally low stage of development. "Generally speaking, they are incapable of moderation in the indulgence of their appetites."³ In areas where the white man's drink has never penetrated drunkenness is prevalent.⁴ In the territories where the prohibitive terms of the Brussels Act are in force, and in particular in Northern Nigeria, it is a mistake to suppose that drunkenness never occurs.⁵ But the effect of native stimulants is much less disastrous than the effect of European spirits. A larger quantity can be

¹ Southern Nigeria Liquor Commission (1909), *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 427.

² Sir Harry Johnston, *Nineteenth Century* (Sept. 1911). Sir Leslie Probyn, *Nineteenth Century* (June 1910).

³ Report of Native Affairs Commission, 1906-7, p. 34.

⁴ Sir Harry Johnston, *Nineteenth Century* (Sept. 1911).

⁵ *Ibid.* (April 1914).

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY

consumed before intoxication sets in, whereas very little distilled liquor of European manufacture intoxicates the native.¹ The opinions of administrators and travellers upon this subject differ. Those who see no evil in the importation of European liquors will point out that the effects produced by distilled liquor, whether European or native, are similar. At one time Sir Harry Johnston hinted that there was little appreciable difference between the effects of European and native alcohol. "Philanthropists in England who have never visited Africa seem to imagine that the negro of the far interior who is carefully shielded from European forms of alcohol is a total abstainer. On the contrary, he is far more frequently drunk on his own fermented liquors than is the case with the negro of the west coast, who may have easy access to European gin, rum, whisky, or wine."² But, four years later, he wrote: "Alcohol was the main inducement to the negro chief to become a slave-trader. From the middle of the seventeenth century to the end of the nineteenth century West Africa lay under the curse of this poison—not the mild fermented liquor made by the natives from palm sap, honey, or grain, but the distilled spirits invented by the European. . . . The one article for which the black potentate or trader was ready to sell his soul (be he Muhammadan or pagan), his wife, child, brother, or unoffending subjects and friends, was distilled spirits."³

The contrast is illuminating. It illustrates an assertion often made by philanthropists that the opinion of an official after only a few years' residence in a native province need not necessarily carry much weight. It would be interesting to know to what extent official pronouncements would have to be modified if it were possible for every administrator to remain in Africa as long as the writer

¹ Sir Harry Johnston, *Nineteenth Century* (Sept. 1911).

² Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate* (1902), p. 451.

³ Sir Harry Johnston, *Liberia* (1906), pp. 173-174.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

who has been quoted. Since 1906 Sir Harry Johnston's attitude towards the importation of European spirits has become increasingly definite.¹

The drinking of distilled liquor began to become permanent in West Africa during the seventeenth century.² It was introduced by traders coming in search of ivory and gold and negro slaves. Gin became the currency in the barter transactions with the natives. Other mediums of barter were firearms and cloth, but the European traders quickly discovered that gin was the most highly esteemed, as well as the most easily conveyed instrument of trade. A century before, distilled liquor had been introduced into England. We have no figures to illustrate the rapidity with which the traffic in West Africa spread, but we have some statistics relating to England. About the time that the trade began to develop in West Africa, the consumption of spirituous liquor in England had reached 550,000 gallons. Seventy years later it had reached a total of 20,000,000 gallons.³ There is no reason to suppose that the development of the liquor traffic in West Africa, among a people who lacked the moral restraints of a civilised population, was anything less than proportionately slower. The commercial products coveted by Europeans lay all around in their fertile country. The natives had only to gather them in order to obtain the equally coveted spirits. There was little economic check, and none of a moral character to the increase in the consumption of liquor by the native tribes. "By the eighteenth century it was playing a tremendous part in the evolution of West and South Africa."⁴ Lady Lugard draws attention to the effect produced upon the native races by the coming of European traders, and that which followed upon the contact of the Spaniards with the

¹ Cf. Appendix II. ² Sir Harry Johnston, *Nineteenth Century* (Sept. 1911).

³ Sir Leslie Probyn, *Nineteenth Century* (June 1910).

⁴ Sir Harry Johnston, *Nineteenth Century* (Sept. 1911).

AFRICA AND THE EAST

Fulani emirs of the court at Timbuctoo. The black scholars of the Sudanese University were welcome at Cordova and among all the scholars of Spain.¹ Constant communications were interchanged between the two countries. It would be unfair to say that trade had been entirely responsible for the break-up of these friendly relations, but it is a fact that when Europeans appeared on the west coast in the seventeenth century, they came to purchase slaves with gin and gunpowder, and when the Greek traders entered the Sudan in the nineteenth century, they introduced alcohol as one of the mediums of trade, among a people whose religion, at any rate, forbade its consumption.² Until the enactment of the Brussels Act (1890) the only check upon the spread of the liquor traffic among the peoples of the north and north-west, had been the restriction imposed by Muhammadanism. In other parts of Africa a check was imposed by the action of the native chiefs. Among the Bamangwato, in South Africa, the chief Khama set the example of total abstinence by himself declining the use of alcohol. He was supported by the sympathy of many Cape officials.³ But it must be remembered that every restrictive measure, save that which was introduced before the appearance of alcohol, is a sign of the existence of abuse. We may not assume that because Muhammadanism has prohibited the use of alcohol, the Sudanese peoples have never abused it. The history of alcohol in India proves the contrary.⁴ It is probable that the Brussels Act, in many districts, has become a truly restrictive measure, because it was enacted before European liquors entered some territories. But even so, the natives have access to native drinks, and frequently abuse them.

¹ Lady Lugard, *A Tropical Dependency* (1905), p. 345.

² Sir Harry Johnston, *Nineteenth Century* (Sept. 1911).

³ James Bryce, *Impressions of South Africa* (1898), p. 261 ff.

⁴ S. M. Mitra, *Indian Problems* (1908), pp. 94-124.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

Drunkenness is prevalent throughout the whole of Africa. In the marine areas, British and French explorers have testified to its deleterious effects upon the native races.¹ In Portuguese Guinea, in the coastlands of Liberia, in the Gold Coast, Dahomé, Lagos, the Niger Delta, in the Kamerun and Congo, the physical stamina and morale of the natives have been affected.² Drunkenness has been met with in East Africa,³ the Central Congo, South Central Africa, the Nigerian Sudan. It has been observed in South Africa, and here its effects have been so obvious that for many years laws of prohibition have been in force.⁴ But the restrictions have been largely nullified by the exemption of white men, through whom it reaches the natives. In Fernando-Po-Cameroons the continued existence of the Bubé and Duala tribes is threatened on account of the ravages of alcohol and venereal disease, both introduced by Europeans.⁵ In South Africa the Hottentot race has decayed through the use of alcohol and the prevalence of small-pox.⁶ It has been suggested that the vigour manifested by the Bantu races of South Africa, and by the Basuto in particular, is largely due to the prohibitive measures enforced by the native chiefs, assisted more recently by official restrictions.

The problem is not confined to districts where European

¹ Cf. Mr. J. M. Robertson, M.P. (Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade), in a letter to the *Daily Chronicle*, May 25, 1911, on the liquor trade in Egypt; the *Westminster Gazette*, Nov. 2, 1912, on the trade in Morocco. Both quotations are from Guy Hayler, *Prohibition Advance in All Lands* (1914), pp. 212 and 214.

² Sir Harry Johnston, *Nineteenth Century* (Sept. 1911).

³ Mr. H. E. S. Cordeaux, Commissioner for Somaliland (1908-9), quoted by Guy Hayler, *Prohibition Advance in All Lands* (1914), p. 217.

⁴ James Bryce, *Impressions of South Africa* (1898), p. 261 ff., p. 448. Native Affairs Commission (1906-7), p. 34. South African Native Affairs Commission (1903-5), pp. 53-4. Guy Hayler, *Prohibition Advance in All Lands* (1914), pp. 234-248.

⁵ Sir Harry Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo* (1908), pp. 28-30.

⁶ Sir Harry Johnston, *Nineteenth Century* (Sept. 1911).

AFRICA AND THE EAST

alcohol is not procurable. Drunkenness exists in regions where European liquor has not yet penetrated. This fact is sometimes brought forward as an excuse to bolster up the liquor traffic, and to disprove the arguments of philanthropists and others who are opposed to the trade. But it is a mistake to suppose that the fondness of the natives for native drinks in certain regions will act as a check upon the use of European alcohol. When European liquors appear in these districts they will be readily adopted on account of their greater stimulating properties.

The problem in Africa branches in two directions. There are the regions in which prohibition in varying degrees is enforced. There are other regions in which no restriction, beyond excise taxation, is imposed. During 1908 and 1909 a royal commission examined the conditions of the liquor traffic in Southern Nigeria. The report and minutes of evidence of the commission provide the most useful means of examining the problem in one of the areas where the trade is controlled solely by excise taxation.

Trade spirits are to be obtained in every district of Southern Nigeria.¹ Gin is sold in bottles of different sizes at 3*d.*, 6*d.*, and 9*d.* The threepenny bottle holds about a tumblerful of gin.² Liquor is distributed to the natives at licensed retail houses or stores, to which the police have the right of entry.³ The natives are not accustomed to remain drinking in the licensed houses. They usually take the gin away and consume it in their private compounds. There is no disorderly conduct in the licensed houses.⁴ It takes place in the private compounds to which the police officers have no right of entry.⁵ The evidence of the Inspector-General of Police for Southern Nigeria was given to the effect that much drinking might go on

¹ Report of Committee of Inquiry into the Liquor Trade in South Nigeria (1909), *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 11.

² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 12 and 13.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

in private houses without the police being aware of the fact.¹ Drunken natives are only arrested when they are disorderly, not if they are merely incapable. When found drunk and incapable the police hand them over to their friends.²

The Commissioners reported that drunkenness was not prevalent in Southern Nigeria. At least twelve witnesses examined by the Commission made statements to the contrary. The evidence reveals the fact that while the method of controlling drunkenness is similar to that in England, the conditions of native society are different. The greater proportion of drunkenness in England takes place in public-houses. It would be very easy for a commission of inquiry to prove the statement. On the other hand, very little drinking takes place in the licensed houses of Southern Nigeria, and this was given as an explanation by the Inspector-General for the small number of convictions before the magistrates.³ In England drunkenness is often observed in the streets. The Commissioners report that in Southern Nigeria drunkenness is not often observed in the streets. But the drinking in Southern Nigeria takes place in the compounds of the natives,⁴ to which the police have no right of entry.

The evidence of the Commission creates a strong impression that the official witnesses, upon whom the Commissioners relied mainly for information, were not so well qualified to give an opinion as unofficial persons whose avocation took them into closer contact with the natives. A hint of this state of affairs was given when the Inspector-General remarked that the native officers would be more likely to know the extent of drunkenness among the people than the white officers. But the native officers are also handicapped by the official regulations of the police. As

¹ Report of Committee of Inquiry into the Liquor Trade in South Nigeria (1909), *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 12.

² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 425.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

to the general moral effect of the police force, a native superintendent remarked that if people wanted to drink they did not much care about the policeman, they would drink.¹ Moreover, they protect their friends. If a drunken native strayed into the streets, he was quickly pulled back into the compounds by his friends.² The Inspector-General of Police admitted that the statistics for drunkenness were valueless for areas outside the big towns.³ He said that the police had difficulty with new recruits to the force, who were often troublesome on account of drinking habits.⁴

A district engineer on the railway, who had held control over 8,000 to 10,000 native labourers during his residence in the country, stated that disturbances occurred among the men occasionally after "pay-days." In reply to the question (9696), "Was there much actual drunkenness among them?" he said, "Yes! after pay-time I used to see a good deal of it, and when they were moving camp, if the men were changing from one division to another, to take on new work, they usually seemed to make a jollification of it, and they indulged in a little drinking." Sometimes they were not ready for work next day. The witness stated that while a great deal of trouble had not been experienced from this cause, still, there was trouble.⁵ At the native festivals the witness had seen as many as forty or fifty drunk out of a gang of 2,000 to 3,000. After the weekly pay-day, the men often took a holiday and got drunk. In addition to the drunkenness on the native festivals, and when the camp moved, at intervals of one month or three months, "a good many" were "sure to be seen drunk" after pay-day. The worst offenders were the overseers. Three or four were constantly getting drunk, and had to be dismissed. On the Gold Coast the

¹ Report of Committee of Inquiry into the Liquor Trade in South Nigeria (1909), *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 15.

² *Ibid.*, p. 433.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

witness saw a "good lot of drunkenness amongst the men." He saw one or two "big and serious rows" in which bodies of 300 to 400 men were concerned, "due primarily to drink."¹

In reply to the questions sent by the Royal Commissioners, one of the District Commissioners stated that all classes of persons drank without distinction. Drinking was on the increase. Spirituous liquor is taken habitually. Imported spirits have a greater effect upon the native than their own fermented drinks. "About forty per cent. of the people get drunk in a week, but are very seldom seen, and very seldom cause any disturbance."² The last statement is significant. It confirms the experience of the police officers. It has to be set against the summary of the Commissioners in which there is a statement to the effect that the majority of the political and police officers reported that drunkenness did not prevail to any appreciable extent. The evidence of a more observant minority shows that drunkenness is difficult to report, because it is not often seen.

The evidence of the Commandant of the Southern Nigerian Regiment pointed in the same direction. During one year he found very much drunkenness in visiting a new district. A great deal of his information was hearsay. He only saw one case himself and then "the whole town has had a regular orgie for about three days—every man, woman, and child participating in it." This generally happened at a full moon.³ He had heard that the same drunkenness prevailed at festivals in other places. Before taking his men to a camp where the sale of liquor was going on, he stopped the sale. He agreed with a commissioner that prevention was better than cure.⁴

A medical officer, referring to the district of Abeokuta,

¹ Report of Committee of Inquiry into the Liquor Trade in South Nigeria (1909), *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 236.

² *Ibid.*, p. 412.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

wrote, "Drunkenness is very prevalent, and is more habitual among the wealthy," who drink more gin than the poor. Drunkenness had been on the increase. It was habitual, "with excessive outbursts on such occasions as births, deaths, marriages, and christenings." It was "quite a common occurrence to spend from £5 to £10 to £50 or more, according to the person's position, on one of these occasions."¹

A native doctor, who had been absent in England for some years, stated that he had found more drunkenness in Lagos on his return than existed before he left for England.² A commissioner asked him to explain his statement in the light of the testimony of several witnesses who had been in the country ten or eleven years, but who said that there was very little drunkenness in Lagos. The witness replied that he did not agree with their statement. The divergence was due to the fact that a lot of people had not studied the question. He had been present at the marriage festivities of his friends and patients. He had spoken against drunkenness at public meetings. Drink in the hands of the natives was a dangerous thing.³

A native clergyman, who had been engaged in religious work for thirty-five years, stated that drinking and drunkenness were on the increase. More liquor is consumed. The natives commenced drinking moderately, and then passed to heavy drinking. He had seen many cases, both among his own congregation and elsewhere. He knew of twenty had cases at the time of inquiry, one of them where a man had set his sister's home on fire and defended the burning building with a cutlass. Gin injured the health of the natives. He had noticed a difference in the physique between those who drank gin, and those who did not. This was especially evident in Badagri and Abeokuta.

¹ Report of Committee of Inquiry into the Liquor Trade in South Nigeria (1909), *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 432.

² *Ibid.*, p. 145.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

In the latter district the people "suffered terribly" from the use of gin and rum.¹

A native clergyman, who had been seven years in Oyo, said that he had noticed a great change for the worse, in the matter of drunkenness.² At a marriage festival which he had witnessed, the people were drunk, "several of them were very drunk." He also referred to grave moral abuses which followed upon the drinking habits of the young men.³ A Wesleyan minister stated that as the result of inquiries set on foot by him, it was evident that there was a great deal of drunkenness among the people.⁴ This was especially the case at marriage and funeral festivities.⁵ At a village called Obagun, an Anglican clergyman saw twelve Hausa lying on the ground, in a drunken condition, with two unopened bottles of gin beside them. They were Muhammadans, and though the case was very exceptional, it was "a clear case of the direct results of drinking trade spirits."⁶ Drinking in an acute form was confined to the festivals, but in a smaller way it was always to be seen among the men who hang about the chiefs and kings, and among those who are in contact with white men and civilisation.⁷ A minister of the United Free Church of Scotland, who had been in the country twenty-seven years, stated that although drinking was decreasing among the younger people, who had been influenced by the mission, it was not decreasing among the older people, or among those whom the mission had not touched. There was a great deal of drunkenness among them, especially amongst the "uncivilised people." A great many drank to excess at funeral ceremonies and at plays. The effect upon the men was to make them very violent and dangerous. In the days before the natives were disarmed, he had bandaged as many as twelve people

¹ Report of Committee of Inquiry into the Liquor Trade in South Nigeria (1909), *Minutes of Evidence*, pp. 170-171.

² *Ibid.*, p. 209.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

in a day, the victims of drunken brawls. Quite recently an intoxicated youth had alarmed a whole village by careering about with a naked sword. Before he was secured he wounded his mother. In another case, a young man wounded his sister, and stoned the people who rushed to her assistance.¹

Another Anglican clergyman, with twenty-two years' experience in the country, said that gin was superseding palm wine as the drink of the country.² "Now that gin is coming in there is a good deal more drunkenness than there used to be" among the Ibo people. "Drunkenness is more common now than it used to be."³ "There is more drunkenness at feasts and funerals, and there is also more drunkenness in connection with other things as well, for instance, hospitality." As wealth increased, so did drinking.⁴ He thought that pagan chiefs of any pretension took gin and gloried in it.⁵ Increased excise duty would not check consumption. If people wanted drink they would have it, in spite of the heavier cost.⁶ The witness made the important observation that the evidence for the prevalence of drunkenness depended upon the number of years spent by the observer in the country. Unless he went among the people, and mixed with them in their homes little drunkenness would be seen.⁷

A lady missionary,⁸ attached to the United Free Church of Scotland, gave evidence, with thirty-three years' experience in Southern Nigeria. She also held the office of "court clerk." For the greater part of twenty years she had lived alone among the people. She said that the Ibibios people, among whom she had worked for four years, were the most sober people she had met with in West Africa. She attributed their sobriety to the fact that not

¹ Report of Committee of Inquiry into the Liquor Trade in South Nigeria (1909), *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 283.

² *Ibid.*, p. 386.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 387, 390.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 387.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 388.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 389.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 387.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 278; and W. T. Livingstone, *Mary Slessor of Calabar* (1916).

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

until recently had gin come into their midst. There was no direct market with Calabar. They had plenty of their own palm wine,¹ which in her opinion did not hurt them. But that section of the Ibibios people which bordered upon the Aros were already demoralised by drink. "Trade gin does unmitigated harm in their homes." Drunkenness was particularly rife among the young men of the district.² The witness spoke in strong terms of a neglected district between the Cross and the Calabar rivers, where she had worked for twenty years. "The whole of that piece of country is utterly besotted. . . . Those people are drunkards." They "are visibly dying out, and it is just through their drinking and their fighting." They got their drink from Calabar. In the days before a court was established, she could not settle their disputes, "because they were all drunk before we began."³ The older people were dying off because of their drunken habits.⁴

The greater number of the political and medical officers examined by the Commission reported that drunkenness was not visible in any marked degree among the native tribes. In those cases where it had been observed, there was nothing to show that the physical condition of the natives had suffered. Upon the basis of the evidence the Commission revised its report. But it is to be noted that on a matter of this description, only observers possessing special qualifications were in a position to give evidence. They should have resided long in the country, they should possess an intimate acquaintance with the language. They should have experience of the inner social life of the native races. In the majority of cases political and medical officers do not possess these qualifications. They are mainly young men, who spend but a few years in the country. Their communications are carried on largely

¹ Report of Committee of Inquiry into the Liquor Trade in South Nigeria (1909), *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 278.

² *Ibid.*, p. 279.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 282.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

among themselves, and with the natives mainly by the aid of interpreters. They do not know the language well.¹ Their duties are such that they seldom go into the compounds, and seldom join in native social life. When they have to meet the natives, the natives come to them, they do not generally go to the natives. The result is that they see the native at his best, under conditions where it is to his interest to appear at his best, in the presence of the white man. The missionary who dwells in the land many years, who masters the language, and takes part in the life of the people sees a great deal more than ever becomes visible to the ordinary officer of the political and medical services.

The foregoing evidence concerns itself mainly with the general character of the problem. Information is forthcoming showing upon what basis the general charge of drunkenness is made. It will be found that the effects of the liquor traffic are not confined to the grown men in the community. They appear in all phases of native life, from the chiefs down to the children,² affecting their days of relaxation and festivity as well as the long, dark evenings of an African village, when the darkness without drives the native into his hut, where the loneliness within calls for some stimulant to while away the tedious hours.³

The Acting District Commissioner for Aba wrote that "all people drink gin, men as well as women, and the women probably drink more than the men, as they meet their friends at the market."⁴ The medical officer for Ondo reported that "the consumption of spirit is by no means confined to the male population, and it is sometimes given to young girls." He referred to "the pernicious habit of administering spirits to the infants and children."⁵

¹ Report of Committee of Inquiry into the Liquor Trade in South Nigeria (1909), *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 267, question 10927.

² Sir Leslie Probyn, *Nineteenth Century* (June 1910).

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 420.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 433.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

The medical officer for Lagos reported that he had seen isolated cases in the country, of children who were mental, moral and physical wrecks, due, in his opinion, to inebriate mothers. The conditions indicative of this were epilepsy, mental deficiency, rickets, marasmus, etc. In one family he remembered, the mother had given birth to a child, which was quite healthy, in her pre-inebriate days. Two children, born subsequently to her having become a drunkard, exhibited the symptoms already mentioned.¹ A Wesleyan minister, who had been in the country sixteen years, drew attention to drinking by women at the public markets. This was especially noticeable at Adiabo, where he had seen it. The custom was quite new.² The women drank to excess, so that the market had been broken up through finishing in a brawl. He had witnessed these drunken rows on several occasions. The women came from the neighbouring district. They were the wives of farmers and of domestic servants. They became practically irresponsible. The quarrels did not arise from marketing, but from the consumption of trade gin. The witness had seldom seen any palm wine being drunk there,³ nor had he seen these squabbles when drinking had not been going on.⁴ A native missionary stated that there had been no moral improvement at Abeokuta because most of the people drank, including the women and children.⁵

The most striking evidence was given by Bishop Johnson. It must be quoted verbatim from the *Minutes of Evidence*.⁶ The Bishop had stated that men, women and children drank gin.

“ 10231 [Mr. Cowan]: That is a big assertion. Where

¹ *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 429, and United Races Committee, 28th Report, p. 28. N.B.—The witnesses quoted on this and the following pages are often additional to those quoted on foregoing pages.

² *Ibid.*, p. 286.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 287.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 248–249, 253.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

have you seen men, women, and children drinking gin?—I went to a school three years ago¹ and examined the children on the subjects which they were taught. Afterwards I found out, by asking them, whether those children had learned to drink gin—they were children between eight and sixteen years of age—and out of seventy-five of those children, only fifteen of them said that they had not been drinking gin.

“10232. What school was that, can you tell us?—Warri Government School.

“10233. What kind of gin was it they were drinking?—Gin—they told me that themselves.

“10234. What date was this?—About three or four years ago.

“10235. Where were they getting this gin?—At home.

“10236. The parents of the children must have been pretty well to do to be able to give their children gin?—Yes.

“10237. Who gave you these figures? Did you take a kind of census; did you ask every child?—I was in the school. I visit my schools, and the Government schools, too, periodically, and I asked the children myself with the permission of the master. I wanted to find out the progress that gin-drinking was making in the country, and I put the question to the children whether they had been using drink. I begged them to be true and conscientious in their answers about it, and I asked those who did not drink it to stand aside, and those who did to stand aside, and sixty children out of the seventy-five stood out and said that they had been using gin.”

For the 10330th question the Chairman displaced Mr. Cowan, and carried on the examination. After referring to several other matters, he returned to the same topic.

“10410. What did you tell the children?—I told them what an evil thing it was to drink, and I begged them, if

¹ Sept. 11, 1906.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

they did, to give it up, and if it was offered to them, whether by their parents or by anybody else, they were not to take it.

“ 10411. That, of course, was perfectly right. What did you say to the children when you told them to divide themselves into two lots?—I said to them, ‘ Those of you children who have not learned to drink gin, or who have not been in the habit of drinking gin, stand aside, and those who have, stand aside, and be very truthful in your answers.’

“ 10412. What age did you say they were?—Between eight and sixteen.

“ 10413. More or less boys?—More boys than girls.

“ 10414. ‘ Those who had not been in the habit of drinking gin, stand aside.’—Yes !

“ 10415. What did you mean by that?—Who were accustomed to take gin when it was given to them.

“ 10416. How many stood aside?—I think about fifteen stood aside and said they had never touched it.

“ 10417. And the other sixty?—They stood aside and said that they had, and that would be much the same in other schools if I tested them—in the region of the Niger Delta, at any rate.”

The Bishop's object was not to prove that the children were habitual gin-drinkers, but to prove that a majority of them were accustomed to take gin whenever it was given to them. The examination of the Inspector of Schools, who was sent to Warri to inquire into the details of the Bishop's visit, and the examination of the school-master and his assistant, who were present at the time of the Bishop's visit, proved the veracity of the Bishop's statements in the essential details. On one or two points the Bishop's memory was at fault. He omitted to state that he had signed the visitor's book.¹ He stated that he had

¹ *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 372.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

asked the children to stand aside; the other witnesses said that he had invited them to stand up.¹ But on three important points in the evidence the Bishop's statements were confirmed. There were seventy-five children in the school at the time; ² the ages ranged from eight to sixteen with three exceptions; ³ the "general habit" was "to taste gin occasionally." ⁴ Moreover, the evidence of these witnesses supplemented that of the Bishop. The assistant-master said that when a boy went to a play, or went on a visit he was given a glass of gin; though, when pressed by the Chairman, the witness could not say whether the boy consumed the whole of it.⁵ The school-master, after being re-examined, gave further information to the effect that in towns and villages he had seen gin given even to infants. It was not given as a medicine, but "the mother, with a baby at her back, after taking a drop will give the baby a drop . . . just to let the baby taste a drop of it."

Even if the Bishop's statements had been largely disproved by the latter witnesses, there is sufficient evidence in the words of the other three witnesses to prove that, at an early age, a large number of children become accustomed to regard gin as a luxury to be indulged in on special occasions of a festive character.⁶ An intimate acquaintance with children is not necessary to emphasise the fact that by this means a taste for alcohol must be encouraged in many cases.

The habit of occasionally tasting gin does not affect the physical condition of the children while they remain children, though in some cases they are affected by the violent conduct of drunken parents. A worse feature is the encouragement given by the gin traffic to the pawning

¹ *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 373.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 374.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 371.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 373.

⁶ Sir Leslie Probyn, writing in the *Nineteenth Century* for June 1910, states that in Sierra Leone drinking is indulged in by quite young people of both sexes; he has seen children draining the empty gin-bottles which their elders had thrown aside.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

of children. It is a common custom in Southern Nigeria to pawn children for the payment of debts. The Arch-deacon of Oyo witnessed to the fact. In order to provide spirits for feasts the people often have to run in debt, and are compelled afterwards to pawn their children to meet the debts.¹ The number of children pawned in Oyo runs into thousands. The children are not released until the debt is paid. They sometimes remain in pawn for ten, fifteen or twenty years.² The pawned children are in the condition of slaves, but they are not necessarily treated with cruelty.³

A native Bishop said that many people bought gin, not because they had the money to spend, but because they could not help buying it. In order to make the purchase they pawned their children and ran into debt.⁴ This had happened in many cases. It was a common practice all over the Yoruba country. A child was pawned at the age of ten years, that is to say, so soon as he was able to do profitable work. The child who had been pawned remained a slave until he was redeemed. If the father died, the child remained a slave until some one else redeemed him. The last pawn the Bishop had seen was a girl, who had been pawned for £7 10s.⁵ In spite of the fact that the British Government did not recognise the custom, and did all in its power to discourage it, the practice still existed all over the country.⁶ The obvious conclusion is that something in addition to administrative restrictions are needed—some measure that would remove the temptation to pawn, anyhow in order to obtain gin.

Although no reference is made in the report of the Commissioners, to the pawning of children, references to the custom appear in at least five places in the *Minutes of Evidence*, and are concerned with different districts of Southern Nigeria. A native clergyman spoke of the

¹ *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 202.

² *Ibid.*, p. 204.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

practice in Abeokuta. Sometimes £40 or £50 was spent on spirits at a funeral. It was a common thing for the natives to pawn their children to raise the money, and those who have no children will sometimes pawn themselves.¹ Another native clergyman stated that more children were pawned for drink than for anything else, the number in the district of Abeokuta rose to hundreds.² A native Bishop stated that in Yorubaland the habit was very common.³

Habits formed in childhood become fixed during adolescence, unless an effort is made to change them during that period. The small boys of Southern Nigeria are accustomed to taste gin during childhood. If they come within the control of a missionary or Government school the habit is checked; at least an opportunity is given for checking it. But a large number of youths become heavy drinkers before the age of twenty is reached. The Roman Catholic Bishop for Southern Nigeria thought that drinking had increased. People who did not drink formerly now did so. Women and younger people were among the number. Boys of fifteen to twenty would drink freely a tumblerful of anything, without getting drunk. They would take it daily if they could get it.⁴ A minister of the United Free Church, who returned home from Calabar for his first furlough fourteen years before the date of the inquiry, had not seen a drunken native during his first two years' residence in the country. He could not say the same thing now. He had seen as many as sixteen young fellows sitting in the streets passing rum and gin round.⁵ A native Bishop expressed the conviction that although Lagos itself was not a drinking place, nevertheless, in recent years the young men imitated Europeans with whom they came in contact, and that they were

¹ *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 166.

² *Ibid.*, p. 171.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

becoming great drinkers of whisky, brandy, and other spirits.¹ The native town-warden of Lagos, who had been in Southern Nigeria thirty years, thought that drunkenness had very much increased during the last twenty years, especially amongst the young men and the young women.² A native Inspector of Schools had not observed much drunkenness among young men, but he thought there was a wider area of drinking among them now than formerly. There was more money in the country, and this had been accompanied by a general rise in the standard of comfort. People attempted to live in European style. Many of them came into contact with Europeans. They saw them drinking at meals, and followed their example.³

All this evidence forms an interesting comment on the thesis of the present essay. Problems are created by the contact between the white and black races. The drink problem is revealed at the point of contact. The fact that excessive drinking is prevalent among the educated natives reveals the problem still more clearly. Those classes which come into closest contact with the European community are the greatest consumers of spirituous liquors. This is the opinion of the Acting District Commissioner for Bende. Among the number included are the semi-educated and educated natives, clerks, interpreters, etc., also soldiers and police in the district, who have evidently got used to drinking of spirituous liquors in more civilised parts, who can better afford to buy it than the ordinary native.⁴ The Commissioner of Police at Warri says that the "so-called educated native is very given to liquor."⁵ The Provincial Commissioner for Southern Nigeria said that the native who was half Europeanised, that is to say, the educated native, could be seen drunk more often than the real native.⁶ The

¹ *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 250.

² *Ibid.*, p. 114.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 421.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 426.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 365.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

Acting Commissioner of Police for Calabar stated that there was more drinking among the educated or so-called educated natives than among the pure bushmen.¹

The opinion of medical men supported that of the political officers. The medical officer for the Opobo district reported that "while the consumption of spirituous liquors in moderate quantities, exists generally among the natives, the abuse of it is more particularly evident amongst those classes that, for obvious reasons, have been most in contact with the centres of European civilisation. This fact augurs badly for European influence, but it is in reality only a phase in evolution."² When examined personally by the Commissioners, the same officer agreed that those natives who had been in contact with Europeans were not equal in moral qualities and stamina with those natives who had not come into contact with Europeans. The contact between the races at first always did harm, before it did good. Trade-gin was one of the contributing causes of the evil.³ The Medical Officer for Forcados stated that there was more drinking among the educated natives, most of whom were Christians, than among other classes of the native community.⁴

Attention has been drawn to the fact that the Muhammadan community for many years acted as a check upon the spread of the liquor traffic. The Koran forbids the use of liquor. But in Southern Nigeria the prevalence of spirit drinking is so wide and so popular that even Muhammadan natives indulge in liquor. The Secretary of the Egba Government, who was also an Associate Judge of the Mixed Court, told the Commissioners that he knew many Muhammadans who not only traded in spirits, but who drank them. He pointed out that these were not strict Muhammadans.⁵ The Bale of Ibadan, a native chief, stated that while the elder Muhammadans still

¹ *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 305.

² *Ibid.*, p. 427.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 375.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

avoided the use of spirits, the younger ones consumed them, and a few of them got drunk.¹ He, as a Mussalman, did not take alcoholic drink.² A native clergyman said that there were Muhammadans who drank trade spirits, though he had not seen them drink to excess.³ A doctor of native descent reported that Muhammadan young men and women in Lagos drank too much. He referred especially to Muhammadan women.⁴ The religious head of the 10,000 Muhammadans of Lagos gave evidence. As a Limomu, he did not touch intoxicating liquors, whether spirits or palm wine. Among the Muhammadans a great many were engaged in the spirit trade. The traffic was against the exhortation of the Koran, which maintained abstention, but the people disregarded the restriction. Moreover, the Muhammadan community consumed both palm wine and spirits on festive occasions, such as marriage, baptismal, or funeral ceremonies. He could see no harm in the trade.⁵ But, fifteen days before, the Limomu had stated to Bishop Tugwell that "none prospered in the end who deal in this traffic. He had appointed four men to be preaching against this traffic. He would have done so long before, but he feared the Government would not like it. He thanked the Christians for calling attention to the matter. His people would give their assistance in the matter."⁶ But fear of the opinion of the Government doubtless influenced his contrary statement made to the Commissioner a fortnight later.

The greatest license in the use of alcohol appears on festal occasions, and in the non-Muhammadan community this appears in its worst form at funeral processions. The District Commissioner for Calabar thought there was less drinking now than there was twenty-six years ago. But he thought that drunkenness occurred at funeral processions. A funeral festivity lasted for sixteen days.

¹ *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 189.

² *Ibid.*, p. 188.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 447.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

Some of the people who attended remained for the whole of that time.¹ At the funeral of an ordinary person, some three or four hundred were present, and about £10 was spent on drink. Both trade liquor and native liquor were consumed. It was the custom of the native farmers around Abeokuta to bring their dead into the town for burial, sometimes carrying them twenty or thirty miles. He had seen funeral parties, night after night, coming past the hill where the District Commissioner's house was situated. The people had been in "a hopeless state of intoxication."²

The evidence of the District Commissioner confirmed the more numerous statements of a native clergyman, examined some days earlier. The native clergyman had said that the people would not carry the dead into Abeokuta for burial, without first taking a good quantity of gin. Funeral processions had passed his house three times a week. The people were always drunken and noisy, and used language abusive of the dead. He had only known two cases where unseemly conduct was not taking place.³ Sometimes women were amongst them. Nearly every member of a procession of eight or ten or more was drunk. All the relations of the dead man contributed towards the expense of purchasing gin. Eighty cases of gin was the amount consumed by a poor family. Sometimes £40 or £50 was spent on gin at a funeral.⁴ A clergyman of the Church of England knew of an instance where at one funeral thirty-eight and a half cases of gin had been consumed. He handed the Commissioners a photograph showing the empty bottles stacked outside the house, with the object of showing the status of the man.⁵ A minister of the United Free Church of Scotland referred to a heathen custom, called Ikpo, among the people of Sierra Leone. The gathering took place six months after

¹ *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 265.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 266 and 267.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 388.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY

the death of a man. It was a devil meeting, for the purpose of purifying the house of the deceased. Drinking was so heavy that the morals of the people became exceedingly bad. Man and wife seemed to lose respect for each other, and the sex question came very much to the fore. General immorality went on at these occasions. The ceremony lasted fully sixteen days. He had been at several towns where these ceremonies had been going on, where the whole town had been given up to drinking, and where trade and all work had been stopped for the time being. The last case witnessed by him was at Oban in 1906. The explanation given by the people on that occasion was to the effect that a year before several of their chiefs had died. The witch doctors had said it was necessary for them to have a special purification of the town. There had been plays for the men by day, and plays for the women by night. While not all the people were absolutely drunk, there were very few who were not under the influence of drink. The witness and his wife were present on that occasion for about a week.¹

Drunkenness at funerals sometimes occurs in England. Only people who are addicted to drinking heavily at other times are guilty of this excess. It is safe to infer that, if drunkenness occurs at native funerals in West Africa, it is not unknown among them at other times. Drunkenness at funerals is seen by Europeans. Drunkenness at other times goes on within the native compounds, where it is very difficult for Europeans to gain admission.

¹ *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 269.

CHAPTER VII

AFRICA : THE LIQUOR QUESTION (*continued*)

A LARGE number of witnesses examined by the Commissioners reported that drunkenness was not increasing among the native races of Southern Nigeria. But the following statistics of the importation of liquor form a favourable commentary upon the foregoing evidence.

SOUTHERN NIGERIA

1908. ¹	3,235,000 gallons ²	1911.	4,835,000 gallons
1909.	2,950,000 „	1912.	4,450,000 „
1910.	4,748,000 „	1913.	4,635,000 „

In 1904 the importation was 3,190,000 gallons. The increase for the ten years has thus been 45 per cent.

GOLD COAST

1907.	1,208,000 gallons	1910.	1,581,000 gallons
1908.	1,254,000 „	1911.	1,559,000 „
1909.	1,177,000 „	1912.	1,835,000 „

The increase for the six years is 627,000, being 51 per cent.

SIERRA LEONE

1907.	420,000 gallons	1910.	413,000 gallons
1908.	305,000 „	1911.	457,000 „
1909.	303,000 „	1912.	626,000 „

Here the increase for the six years is 206,000 gallons, being 49 per cent.³

¹ The years for which complete returns are available have been taken.

² Omitting hundreds.

³ These statistics are taken from the Native Races Committee, 28th Annual Report, pp. 26-29.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

The area of the three districts of West Africa covered by the foregoing figures is—

Southern Nigeria	77,000 square miles
Gold Coast	80,000 " "
Sierra Leone	25,000 " "

The estimated population in the three areas is—

Southern Nigeria	7,500,000
Gold Coast	1,500,000
Sierra Leone	1,400,000 ¹

From these figures it appears that the liquor traffic is most widely spread on the Gold Coast. It forms more than one gallon per head of the population, which is one-fifth of the population of Southern Nigeria, but is scattered over a wider area than in Southern Nigeria. The Gold Coast is one of the oldest trading regions in Africa. It has been longest in touch with the white man. Hence the consumption of alcohol is most widely prevalent here. More than one witness before the Southern Nigerian Commission pointed out that the Gold Coast men were the worst offenders in the matter of excessive drinking.

It can be alleged that an increase in the consumption of liquor is no proof of increased drunkenness. It may be due to an increase in population, and to the adoption of liquor as an occasional drink by people who formerly had not used it. This may be true, but the effects of the consumption of alcohol are such that drunkenness always accompanies moderate drinking. If the number of people who take alcohol in moderation increases, so does the number of people who drink heavily. Any increase, therefore, in moderate drinking is accompanied by an increase in drunkenness.

The influence of alcoholic liquor upon the life of the

¹ With the exception of the figures for the population of Southern Nigeria, these figures are taken from the Native Races Committee, 26th Annual Report. The figures for the population of Southern Nigeria are taken from the Report of the Southern Nigerian Commission (1909).

AFRICA AND THE EAST

people is further revealed by the connection between gin and the trade, currency and revenue of the country. The relation of spirits to the general trade of Southern Nigeria during the nine years, 1900–1908, was as follows—

	1900	1901	1902	1903
	£	£	£	£
Value of total imports ¹	1,946,000	2,034,400	2,177,200	2,356,800
Value of spirits imported	535,100	571,500	685,700	648,700
Percentage of spirits	27	28	31	27

	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908
	£	£	£	£	£
	2,712,200	2,976,300	3,148,200	4,438,900	4,284,800
	767,200	770,300	895,800	1,181,900	1,013,000
	28	25	28	26	23

For the whole period the value of imported spirits was 27 per cent. of the total imports. Spirits thus form a large proportion of the trade of the country. The evil effects of trade, unrestrained by unselfish motives is fully demonstrated. The white races have removed the slave-trade from West Africa, but they have not yet removed the liquor trade which arose out of the slave trade—gin was one of the inducements towards the capture of slaves. It caused many natives to enter upon the slave traffic. The slave trade has been arrested, but the use of gin has become so ingrained upon the commercial relationships of the white and black races, that it was possible for fifteen, out of twenty-eight witnesses examined by the Commissioners on this point, to agree that without gin, trade could not be carried on, or if it were carried on, its volume would be largely reduced. One chief used the words “No gin, no trade.” Of these witnesses twelve were traders and native chiefs, and three were Government officials.

Thirteen witnesses differed. They were traders and missionaries. They maintained that trade was possible without gin. The general character of trade would

¹ Native Races Committee, *The Liquor Traffic in Southern Nigeria* (1909), pp. 36–37.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

improve without gin. If the liquor traffic were checked the imports in cotton and iron goods would increase. The agent of a large trading company said that he had probably sold more gin during his long connection with the country than any other trader. During the last few years he had found by experience that it was possible to conduct a large trade in general goods without the use of spirits at all. One or two native witnesses agreed.

It has been alleged that if gin is removed there will be no incentive to the native to work. He will sink into indolence. But experience elsewhere points to the fact that money not spent on drink will be spent in other ways. Other tastes arise and can be fostered. Anyhow it is clear that a commercial system which can be maintained only at the cost of causing the native races to indulge in spirituous liquors stands condemned. So, too, the native is better left in a condition of indolence, if he can only be encouraged to work by the attraction of the gin-bottle. But the progress of commercial enterprise in other parts of Africa where the liquor traffic is prohibited disproves these allegations.

In some regions gin forms the currency for commercial transactions.¹ In earlier days gin soon ousted cloth as a medium of exchange, and not merely as a luxury coveted by the natives. It was more easily transported in small quantities of considerable value. It did not deteriorate in value like cloth, which is quickly ruined by the torrential rains, and the attacks of ants. In more recent times gin has ousted brass rods, another instrument of barter, from certain districts.

Among all races, at an early stage in society, trading operations are conducted by means of barter. Cattle, slaves, and cloth, formed the earliest media of exchange.

¹ A silver and nickel currency has now been introduced into West Africa. So far it has been favourably received and is taking the place of the gin-bottle as currency: Native Races Committee, 28th Annual Report, p. 27.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

In later times spirituous liquor, firearms, and gunpowder gradually displaced the more valuable, but more cumbersome articles of exchange used in earlier days. Primitive peoples are not attracted by coinage. Coins are too easily lost or stolen, they do not bulk large in size, and are therefore not important to the native mind. In West Africa the exchange is carried on by means of gin, brass rods, manillas, tobacco, and cotton goods.¹ But tobacco is easily damaged, and is not a very convenient article of exchange. Cotton is subject to the same depreciation as cloth. Brass rods and manillas (pieces of metal shaped in the form of a horse-shoe) are the nearest approach to a coinage. The convenience and popularity of gin as a means of exchange with the native races have undoubtedly encouraged the traders to stimulate the gin traffic.

The use of gin as a currency was proved by several witnesses who came before the Commissioners. A minister of the United Free Church of Scotland said that the natives would not use coin as a currency. They used gin because of its convenience. A case of twelve bottles was easily divided up.² The Acting Colonial Secretary stated that gin was the currency of the country.³ A native chief thought gin was "the same as money."⁴ The head of the Forestry Department reported that the gin-bottle seemed to be carried about in Southern Nigeria as coin.⁵ A trader, who first came out to the country in 1882, said that while powder was used as coin in the Yoruba territory, gin was the currency in the Eastern and Central provinces.⁶ A medical officer said that so far as he was able to observe, gin was the only currency in the Brass district.⁷ Evidence was given by an English Bishop. He said: "When travelling in some parts of the Delta it is not possible to purchase food unless you are prepared to pay for it in gin.

¹ Report of Commission, p. 7.

² *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 271.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

Archdeacon Dennis, when travelling through the country, could not get a fowl because the people insisted on a bottle of gin in payment, and I have been frequently refused in the same way. At Agberi, we opened a station when the Niger Company retired, but we had to withdraw the man there because the people would not sell him food unless he produced gin in exchange. Mr. Croker had the same difficulty for a long time, until he broke down the disinclination of the people in that respect. Again, among the canoe-men the very first thing they ask you for when you start on a journey is for an instalment of their payment in gin.”¹ A native Bishop confirmed the statement by saying that gin was used as currency over almost the whole of the Delta district.² An English clergyman once received a petition from the Christians of Atani, a district in the Delta, asking for permission to use gin for trade purposes, otherwise they would starve. It was impossible to buy things unless they had gin.³ The Commissioners reported that in many parts of the country trade spirits, especially gin, were used not merely for drinking, but as a substitute for currency, and large quantities were stored as accumulated wealth.⁴ The Commissioners themselves visited the house of a chief in the Central Province and saw a large quantity of gin, in old cases, which had been purchased thirty years before. Sometimes the cases are kept so long that the corks rot with age or through the ravages of white ants, and the gin runs away.⁵ But the storage of gin as currency is no complete check upon its consumption. As the bottles pass from hand to hand, they are frequently opened, for drinking, and are filled up again with water.⁶

In order to facilitate the introduction of a coinage the Government prohibited the use of brass rods and manillas

¹ *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 24.

² *Ibid.*, p. 244.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 386.

⁴ Report of Commission, p. 7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 335 and 345.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 368.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

as currency. They did not prohibit the use of gin. In one or two instances the natives were reluctantly compelled to adopt gin as a coinage. In one district they preferred brass rods,¹ in another they preferred manillas.²

A still more glaring abuse of the liquor traffic was the exaction of fines to be paid in gin. The attention of the Government was drawn to the matter by a speech made by Bishop Tugwell in May 1908. The Secretary of State for the Colonies at once communicated with the Governor of Southern Nigeria. At a meeting of the Legislative Council of Southern Nigeria held on July 29, 1908, the Governor said: "I have already given to the Secretary of State, who called my attention to the statement, a most unqualified denial to the allegations that the Government accepts fines in gin, but I had not then the full text of Bishop Tugwell's speech. I did not know that a special reference was made to Brass, but when I saw the short summary which appeared in *The Times* newspaper, I at once instructed the Colonial Secretary to communicate by telegraph with the Provincial Commissioners of the Eastern and Central provinces. We have received their answers, and they reply that there is not a word of truth in the statement." Meanwhile on June 29, the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies had said: "The Secretary of State has communicated with the Governor by telegram, and is informed that the statement that fines imposed by the Government are paid in gin in any part of Southern Nigeria is entirely without foundation. I regret that such a statement should have been made."³

The Commission of Inquiry was appointed. Bishop Tugwell was examined. He reported a conversation held between Archdeacon Crowther and a trader at Brass, in which the Archdeacon learned "that gin was paid to the Government by the people for fines." When the Bishop

¹ Report of Commission, p. 271.

² *Ibid.*, p. 312.

³ Reply of the Native Races Committee (1911), p. 37 ff.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

questioned the District Commissioner of Brass, he admitted that the statement was true. Then the Archdeacon, following up the Bishop's action, made inquiries of young men employed in the Government Departments at Brass and elsewhere. The young men said: "The Government cannot deny that they receive fines in gin, from the fact that there is one Brass young man, called John Epe, a Court clerk at Brass, who was criminated for embezzlement of over fifty cases of gin of Court fines about two years ago, and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, but now reduced to five years, and is at this present time serving in prison at Old Calabar."

The Resident Medical Officer from the hospital at Lagos gave evidence to the effect that fines had been paid in gin at several courts in the Brass District. On one occasion, at the commencement of 1905, in the presence of the District Commissioner, he had counted the cases, and looked at the bottles to see if they were not half filled with water. In 1901 an Order had been passed forbidding the payment of fines in gin. The witness was not aware of the existence of the Order. He thought that probably the District Commissioner knew the Order had been made. The Order had been disobeyed up to 1905. The only excuse he could make which would cover the District Commissioner was to suggest that the practice of receiving fines for gin was an old one in the district.¹

The gin received as a fine was cashed by the native clerk or the district clerk. One case was received for 10s. The clerk sold the case for what he could get, paying 10s. into the Treasury, and retaining the balance for himself. On cross-examination, the witness emphasised the fact that the clerk made profit on the transaction.²

Ultimately the speech made by Bishop Tugwell was completely substantiated by the evidence of the Acting Colonial Secretary. He admitted that the Government

¹ *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 75.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

had made exhaustive inquiries into the alleged acceptance of gin as payment of fees and fines in the native courts of the Brass District, with the result that nobody "regrets more than the Government does that it has been discovered that gin was taken in payment of fees and fines at certain native courts in the Brass District, namely, Nembe, Twon, Sabagreia, Ogboyau, Amassama, and Ekow." This "was an absolute contravention of the orders of the Government." The abuse had not occurred in any other district. "Rule No. 2 of 1901 absolutely prohibited gin as currency to be used in any native court." The Divisional Commissioner was at the time absent as Chief Political Officer with the Aro Expedition. None of the other district commissioners was competent to occupy his position. "In those days unless you had a strong divisional commissioner, who visited his districts and kept the district commissioners up to the mark, a good many things occurred which otherwise should not have occurred." In this case "the Eastern Division was practically left for four months without a Divisional Commissioner." The original promulgation of the order had been "overlooked," but the District Commissioner of Brass had actually written to the secretary acknowledging the receipt of that particular rule. At the same time he stated that fees and fines in the courts at Nembe and Twon were being paid in cash. As a matter of fact they were being paid in gin. The District Commissioner did not know what was taking place in his own court.¹

The difficulties of administration in a backward country are well-known. Communication is difficult. Police supervision is inadequate. The political officers are hampered by a limited acquaintance with the people and their language. But a bad case of inefficiency of this nature damages severely the credit of the official witnesses upon points where native custom and social life are concerned.

¹ *Minutes of Evidence*, pp. 98-99.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

If a district commissioner required to be constantly "kept up to the mark" by his superior officer in business connected with the administrative matters under his control, even less confidence can be placed in his statements bearing on matters farther afield. The extent and degree of drunkenness among the natives is one of these matters. Drinking within the compounds seldom comes before the notice of officials. More attention, therefore, is to be paid to the evidence of non-official witnesses, whose special avocation takes them into closer contact with the social life of the natives. In this particular case a migrating bishop knew more than a stationary district commissioner.

The impression has been created that the Government of Southern Nigeria did not view with favour the agitation against the liquor traffic. This impression was confirmed by the evidence produced before the Commissioners concerning the Bale of Ibadan. The Bale is the head chief of Ibadan. Either from an objection to a new license fee imposed by the Government, or on account of conscientious scruples concerning the effect of gin upon his people, the Bale forbade the people of Ibadan to purchase spirits. The traders complained to the Government, who suspended the Bale's stipend on the ground that he was superseding his rights by interfering with the trade of the colony. The Colonial Secretary admitted that the Bale was within his rights in advising the people not to purchase spirits, but that he exceeded them when he forbade the transactions. The Bale's pay was stopped on January 18, but in March the suspension was rescinded. The District Commissioner had made fuller inquiries, and had come to a different conclusion as to the Bale's responsibility for the boycott. He had come to the conclusion that the Bale had not given the order for the boycott.¹

It is a significant fact that the stipend of an important

¹ *Minutes of Evidence*, pp. 95, 102, 134-137. Reply of the Native Races Committee (1911), pp. 6-7.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

native chief was suspended by a district commissioner, who did not first consult the Government, and before an opportunity had been given for an exhaustive inquiry into the Bale's motives, assuming that he had given the order for the boycott. If the assumption had been correct, there was a legitimate doubt as to how far the matter had a purely commercial significance, and how far a moral issue was at stake. Administration is concerned with social ethics as well as with trade. The distribution or prohibition of spirituous liquors are matters of social ethics. The District Commissioner quickly came to the conclusion that a question of trade only was involved. That is the general attitude of the administrative faculties of most governments.

In spite of the fact that the District Commissioner reported that he had come to the conclusion that the Bale had not forbidden the traffic, he could not, before the Commissioners, break away entirely from his former opinion. He was convinced that the Bale had sent his bell-man round among the people.¹ The inquiries were not able to discover who had issued the prohibition. It was suggested that opposition to the new license accounted for the boycott.

The Government's attitude produced the desired effect upon the Bale. When examined by the Commissioners, his loyalty to the gin trade was markedly pronounced.² But in this action he did not stand alone among the native chiefs who spoke in favour of the liquor traffic before the Commissioners, after attempting to check the consumption among their own people. There was the case of the Alake of Abeokuta.

The Alake gave attention to the liquor question as early as 1901. In a letter to Bishop Tugwell he stated that he and his council were taking steps in the matter. In 1908 the Egba Government *Gazette* printed his address, delivered

¹ *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 137.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 188-190.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

to a district council at Otta: "It has been reported to me that the people of Otta are very fond of the white man's fire water. I refer to the ardent spirits which are daily imported by Europeans in very large quantities to our country. These injurious spirits are great impediments to the peace and prosperity of any people. If you desire prosperity at Otta, abstain from the use of intoxicating liquors. I have repeatedly advised you, King and Chiefs of Otta, to try and put a stop to the habitual intemperance of your people; even in the assembly here to-day I noticed that some of your people are not sober." At a meeting at Abeokuta, during a discussion on the effects of civilisation upon the youths of the country, the Alake sprang to his feet and said: "Put it down on that paper [*pointing to the reporter*] that the young men are learning to drink and to get drunk! Their heads are always filled with brandy, whisky, gin and rum. They [*the Europeans*] should stop that." ¹

When examined by the Commissioners the Alake did not refer to his utterances of the previous year. He was not recalled by the Commissioners after the report of his public statements had been brought before them. The attitude of the Alake has to be judged side by side with the report that several persons, who should have given evidence before the Commissioner, were induced to refrain by some influence which was never clearly traced. Bishop Tugwell received a letter from one of his native clergy to the effect that the Egba Government had privately influenced some of the representatives, who were to have appeared before the Commissioners, to break their engagement.² The Bishop discovered that the Resident had sent a message to some of the people who were going to give evidence, asking them to see him before appearing. The Bishop told the Resident that if the men were examined in this way it would be regarded as an act of intimidation. The Resident withdrew from the suggested interview.

¹ *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 167.

² *Ibid.*, p. 157.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

But the fact remains that these men, who formerly were quite prepared to give evidence declined to do so after this incident had occurred. The Bishop felt sure that some influence had been at work.¹

The interest of the Government in the liquor traffic is seldom concerned with the distribution and consumption of spirits in themselves. It is wrapped up with the vital question of revenue. The administration must pay its way. Excise forms a fruitful means of supply. The real defence of the opium traffic with China was the need for revenue. The difficulty attached to the problem of spirituous liquors in India to-day is still a question of revenue. So, too, in West Africa, and in Southern Nigeria, especially, the fact that one half of the revenue is raised from excise, colours the attitude of the administration towards the traffic. Apart from the needs of revenue it is difficult to realise that any one could be found to adhere to the policy which prevents the prohibitive measures of Northern Nigeria from being introduced into the southern province.

In estimating the virtues of a society its best members must be examined. In estimating its vices the worst members must be examined. For this reason West Africa has been selected for special treatment. The liquor traffic is one of the problems of our colonial policy. It is one of the vices which have followed imperial expansion. Therefore, the region in which its symptoms are most apparent forms the best point at which to grapple with the problem. It is possible to draw an imaginary picture of the temptations and difficulties arising from the use of alcohol, which surround the life of a West African native from the cradle to the grave. The colours will be heightened, but as a type of the evil in its worst form on the Gold Coast, and in Southern Nigeria, it will be not altogether a gross exaggeration.

¹ *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 158.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

From birth the native is liable to be affected by heredity through the parentage of an inebriate mother. During the months of infancy he may be soothed into good temper by sips from the gin-bottle after it has passed from his mother's lips. In boyhood he is encouraged to regard gin as a luxury, from being allowed to taste it on festival occasions, and by the stealthy indulgence offered by the cast-off bottles when his elders have thrown them aside. Throughout the years of young manhood the habit may become fixed on account of the drunken routs in which the young braves of every community will sometimes indulge. He may even be turned over and found dead-drunk by a curious European who chances to pass by. When he comes to full manhood almost every relationship he possesses in life will be accompanied by the gin-bottle, or if not always offered, the bottle will always be present to entice. When he enters the town on market days, liquor will be consumed. If he trades with the Europeans he must pay, or receive payment in the terms of a gin currency. When he returns to his compound at night, from the fields or the market, he will be tempted to while away the long hours by the ardent solace of the good liquor, unseen by the eye of the European, and unhindered by the native police. If he should be so foolish as to wander from the compound, his friends will drag him back, with kindly but self-interested attention. If his instincts are aroused by drink, they will be the passions of a hot, undisciplined nature, and will only sink into quiescence again when they have been lulled by the satisfaction of lust or violence. And if his drunken actions should cause him to break the law, in some districts, formerly, he was compelled to pay the fine with the same gin which had made him a law-breaker, after being sentenced by a Government which received half its revenue from gin. On every festive occasion he will be expected to contribute towards the purchase of many cases of gin, to be consumed

AFRICA AND THE EAST

at orgies, where any restraint he may have learned by contact with Europeans, is thrown to the winds, and if the festivity is a funeral, he will join in drunken abuse of the dead. At last, when perhaps disease and alcohol have claimed their victim, he will be borne on the shoulders of his drunken relations, twenty or thirty miles through the bush, amid jeers at every recollection of his human failings and weaknesses. Six months after his burial gin again will form the lustration by which his hovel is purified from the pollution caused by his decease.

The picture is lurid and exaggerated. But the foregoing evidence will prove whether it is ever true or not. At least it is supported by the opinion of a political economist who says: "The liquor traffic, in particular, carried on by traders of several European nations in various parts of Africa, is a crime against civilisation, only second to the slave trade of earlier days."¹

¹ J. A. Hobhouse, Report of First Universal Races Congress (1911), p. 230.

CHAPTER VIII

AFRICA : CHRISTIANITY AND PROHIBITION

THE Athenian democracy allowed itself to be maintained by a slave community four times its own number. Republican Rome had its slave wars. The United States of America only recovered its first principles after a civil war which involved some three million fighting men. But the worst failures of democracy have come when it has tried to govern dependent communities. The confederacy of Delos ruined the Athenian democracy. The attempt of the Roman republic to rule the backward races of the Mediterranean littoral produced the most grinding forms of slavery known to history, and created the strongest autocracy of the ancient world. Venice forgot she was a republic when she diverted the crusading army towards Zara. Both parties in the British House of Commons have failed to solve the problem of governing the native races of Africa. The strongest Liberal government of modern times has not yet redressed the alleged wrongs done to the people of Africa by Conservative administrations.

Democracy forgets its principles when it is compelled to govern native races.¹ There is inherent in democracy

¹ "Every nation having colonies or external dependencies acquires and holds them for the sake of benefits to its own citizens, whether as settlers, traders, or investors of capital in those territories, and in so far as the sovereign nation orders the government of its colonies and dependencies, the dominant guiding factor in its policy will be the promotion of these ends."—Sir Sydney Olivier: Report of First Universal Races Congress (1911), p. 293. Cf. Report of the Native Affairs Commission, 1906-7, pp. 7-9.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY

an incapacity for government. Democracy cannot govern communities outside its own geographical area. In itself it is a protest against government. It does not want to be governed. It wants to go its own way. Consequently it does not know how to govern when the necessity arises.

All forms of government are selfish, democracy included. The eternal question before executive and administrative alike is "How can I maintain my authority?" That means "How can I maintain myself?" But in the case of a democracy the question presses more hardly upon subject races, because it is asked not by one man but by all the units which go to make up the community. The wants of an autocracy are the wants of one man or of a limited number in the community. The wants of a democracy are the wants of a people. That is why trade always assumes large proportions under democratic governments. That is why democratic government necessitates colonial expansion. Expanding trade demands a greater colonial area. The government of the new colonies is chiefly concerned with the creation and preservation of facilities for trade. Trade is the motive of democratic colonial policy. So the native races are sacrificed to the commercial wants of the governing people.

There are three ways of regarding the relationship between ruling and subject races. The native races may be governed solely for the benefit and profit of the dominant society. They may be governed solely for the benefit of the native community. They may be governed for the mutual benefit of both. In the last case each must yield something to the other. The recognition of rights on both sides must be maintained. Might, which, as a principle of government can brook no equal, must be recognised rather as a principle of administration. The executive should be based upon some other principle.

In West Africa the liquor problem has been created by the fact that the trading interests have received the

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

first attention of the Government. Trading interests are self-centred. Self-interest can only be maintained by a recognition of the principle of might. Might as a principle of colonial government necessitates the repression of native rights.

It may be urged that the native races are quite willing, in some cases, to forego their rights. This may be true, but it creates the fallacy of supposing that the principle of might is thereby circumvented, indeed, that it becomes inoperative. But such a supposition means that the responsibility of the governing community to races which are *in statu pupillari* has been forgotten. Native races frequently are not conscious of their needs. That does not absolve the dominant community from responsibility. It sometimes means that the principle of might must indeed be introduced, but in the reverse direction, against the aggressive interests of the governing community. Epecially is this the case where trading interests are involved. The native races may desire the liquor traffic, and a liquor currency. The fact remains that the traffic is bad for them. The strong arm of the administrative must check the interests of the dominant people, not in order to satisfy the wants of the native community at the expense of the governing people, but in order to protect the moral, and therefore the physical and material needs of the native races.

The protection of the native races sometimes involves a total prohibition of the special interests of the dominant race. The more backward the native races, the more frequently must prohibition be enforced. Backward peoples are not able to take steps for their own protection. Often they are not able to protect themselves when Government intervenes on their behalf. Sometimes a total removal of the factor which militates against them is necessary. The liquor traffic is dangerous to the welfare of the native community. Government may intervene

AFRICA AND THE EAST

to regulate the traffic. Even so the native is too weak to take advantage of the measure of protection offered. Only if prohibition be enforced will the danger be removed.

If the evil be left too long, the particular interests involved may become so widely ramifying and so deeply rooted that prohibition will cause injustice to both parties. But there was a period in the development of the trade when Government could have intervened with prohibition before the particular interests had become so strong, and without causing injustice to either party. Complete and sudden prohibition of the liquor traffic in India would do grave injustice to the European and native interests concerned. Capital would suffer on the one side, and a widely spread and deeply rooted habit would be outraged on the other. But in Africa the consumption of alcoholic liquors is confined to certain regions of the continent, it has not involved the majority of the native races. Hence the Brussels Act was practicable.

A Concert of the European powers met at Brussels in 1890¹ to consider measures for the repression of the slave trade in Africa. The Brussels Conference represented the second phase in the awakening of the Christian conscience of Europe towards the native races problem. The first phase was the anti-slavery movement of the early part of the nineteenth century. During the period which followed the passing of the British Emancipation Act of 1833, the question of the native races was allowed to recede into the background of the European mind. But the aboli-

¹ It was in this year that Sir George Goldie, the founder of Nigeria said: "I speak after sixteen years' experience, and I say confidently that unless immediate steps are taken to stop the liquor traffic—not by putting on higher duties but by absolute prohibition—a state of things will soon be brought about that must ultimately lead to the entire abandonment of the country. I cannot believe that the conscience of Europe will long allow that the vast populous regions of tropical Africa should be used only as a cesspool of European alcohol."—Quoted by Guy Hayler, *Prohibition Advance in All Lands* (1914), p. 203.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

tionist war in America (1861-65) and, still more, the scramble for Africa which followed the discoveries of Livingstone, revived the whole question of the relations between the black and the white races.

In the second half of the century the conscience of Europe realised a much larger responsibility towards the native races than even that recognised during the earlier movement. The anti-slavery movement commenced by Pitt and Wilberforce had concerned itself mainly with the condition of the native races inhabiting territories under the occupation of the western nations, and more particularly in those regions, like the West Indies and America, where native labour was largely employed by white men. Little or no attention was paid to the condition of the natives in those regions where the white man had not settled. But in the years preceding the Brussels Conference, the conviction had been slowly formed that wherever the white man came in contact with the native races, it became his duty to ensure that no moral harm resulted to the native. The Christian conscience of Europe began to realise a brotherhood of man. In consequence, the deliberations of the Brussels Conference resulted in a definite undertaking on the part of the European powers represented at the conference, not merely to check slavery, but to prohibit the introduction of certain harmful imports into a large area of the African continent defined by the conference. The prohibition of the use of firearms, and the consumption of western alcohol was agreed upon. Liquor even more than gunpowder formed an inducement to the native to sell all that he possessed, wife, child and sometimes himself. It sent him ranging over Northern and Western Africa in search of slaves. The slave trade was literally kept going by the native's desire for alcohol.

A wide zone, stretching from 20 N. Lat. to 22 S. Lat. was declared to be a region in which it was desirable that total prohibition of the sale of spirits to the native

AFRICA AND THE EAST

racés should be enforced.¹ It is true that the Brussels Act was only declarative. It had no suasion other than moral over the nations participating in the Conference. But, large tracts of territory were placed under the recommendations of the Act. They include Northern Nigeria, the hinterland to the north of Togo and the Gold Coast, British Somaliland, British East Africa, Uganda, the Kamerun, Belgian Congo, German East Africa, German West Africa, part of Portuguese East Africa, Nyasaland, and Northern and Southern Rhodesia. In some of these areas the full policy of the Brussels Act has been enforced. In others, it is being introduced gradually.

In addition to the demarcation of wide regions, embracing two-thirds of the continent,² the Brussels General Act of 1890 imposed a minimum duty of 25 francs per hectolitre of alcohol at the strength of 50 degrees. This merely nominal duty was raised by the Conference of 1899 to 70 francs, and by that of 1906 to 100 francs. For in these years and in 1912 the representatives of the Powers met again at Brussels for further consideration of the problem, though on the last occasion the Conference broke up without coming to any further decisions.

Since the date of the last Brussels Conference the policy of prohibition has been adopted in some of the districts included within the area defined in 1890. The new prohibition regions include more than three-fifths of the Ivory Coast,³ part of the hinterland of Dahomey,⁴ the Koinadugu province in the hinterland of Sierra Leone,⁵ the north-eastern corner of Southern Nigeria,⁶ the Portuguese province of Angola.⁷

¹ Cf. Appendix III. ² South Africa has its own prohibition regulations.

³ Native Races Committee, 27th Annual Report, p. 16. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁵ John Newton, *Alcohol and Native Races* (1915) (pamphlet), p. 9. In Sierra Leone the supply of alcohol to natives by non-natives has also been prohibited.

⁶ John Newton, *Alcohol and Native Races* (1915), p. 7.

⁷ Native Races Committee, 26th Annual Report, p. 19.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

In the Ivory Coast the new sphere of prohibition was declared after the receipt of reports from the head of the sanitary service of the colony, from the chief of the customs department, and from the district officers.¹ These authorities reported that alcohol was making disquieting progress in these regions, and that it was time to take steps to check its further advance. An interesting comment on this official opinion came from the governor of the adjacent province of the Gold Coast, who is reported to have said that if the drink traffic continues at its present rate of increase it will destroy Christianity in the Gold Coast.²

The new restrictions imposed upon the excise traffic of Southern Nigeria seem to be partly the result of the union, in January 1914, of the southern province with the northern province, where prohibition is in force. The official recognition of the principle of prohibition in Southern Nigeria has come none too soon. Nine months before (in April 1913) a disturbing recommendation on the liquor traffic was published by the Board of Trade. A report from the Commerical Intelligence Officer of Southern Nigeria was printed in the Blue Book *British Trade in Certain Colonies*. The report contained a recommendation that British distillers should produce a new cheap spirit in order to compete with Holland and Germany for the liquor traffic of Southern Nigeria. On June 5, 1913, a question was raised in the House of Commons by Mr. Joynson Hicks, with the result that a deputation of the Native Races Committee was received by the Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Trade, who then promised that no such publication should be made in future.³

Even in Northern Nigeria there is reason for some uneasiness. Gin is smuggled into the province from

¹ Native Races Committee, 26th Annual Report, pp. 15-16.

² John Newton, *Alcohol and Native Races* (1915), p. 8.

³ Native Races Committee, 27th Annual Report, pp. 12-13.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

Southern Nigeria. The system of "permits" which allows natives of other regions resident in Northern Nigeria to obtain two bottles of spirits a week, threatens to hinder the effect of the prohibition regulations.¹

Short of prohibition, which seems to be the only effective method of dealing with the liquor question, good work is being achieved by other regulations which have been directly inspired by the policy of the Brussels Conferences. The minimum import duty is being periodically raised in the colonies belonging to the different Powers. In Southern Nigeria, the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone the duty now stands at the rate of 175½ francs a hectolitre. In the Spanish possessions of the Gulf of Guinea the duty is at the rate of 176 francs a hectolitre. On the other hand, the import and consumption of spirits continues to increase. A more promising regulation is the prohibition of distillation in Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and Southern Nigeria. This regulation has been introduced since the adjournment of the last Brussels Conference (1912).²

The fact that prohibition has been recognised as the correct principle throughout the greater part of Africa administered by the Powers is a significant answer to the objection that it is not practicable in Southern Nigeria. The plain fact is that the liquor problem is being handled by the Powers in a resolute and decisive manner, which promises a solution of the problem at no very distant date. This being the case it is necessary to examine some of the objections which have been raised to the extension of prohibition to Southern Nigeria.

It is said that there are four practical difficulties facing the introduction of prohibition into a dependency where the liquor traffic has already gained a considerable hold

¹ John Newton, *Alcohol and Native Races* (1915), p. 6.

² C. F. Harford, paper on Legislation concerning Alcohol in the Colonies (1913), p. 6.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

upon the people—the natives would resort to surreptitious distillation; smuggling would increase; the palm trees would be destroyed; the revenue system would be disorganised.

The objection alleged from illicit distillation by the natives is made on the assumption that they have already learned the art of distilling western spirits. But the natives are ignorant of the methods of distillation.¹ The existence of native stills, even on the pot-still system, is not known to the authorities,² although distillation on the pot-still system would be very easy. Moreover, no distilleries existed, at the time of the inquiry, though a law allowed distillation of spirits with a license.³

These facts become more significant when it is remembered that the continued rise in import duties makes illicit distillation profitable. But when all other considerations have been made, it cannot be denied that no amount of private distillation could produce, without the knowledge of the customs officers, the amount of spirits imported into the country. The Comptroller of Customs admitted that a complete control could be effected, though at great cost to the administration. The question of cost is a mere argument from expediency, and from an expediency of a somewhat low order. All government would stop if the administrative hesitated on account of cost. The Congress of Colonial and Tropical Agriculture held at Brussels in 1910, which included leading men of science from Europe and America, agreed that "alcohol was the most active and widespread element in the demoralisation of native races, but everywhere it prepared the ground for tuberculosis."⁴ No expense would be too great to save the native races from such danger, provided always that the Government recognises a responsibility

¹ Reply of the Native Races Committee (1911), p. 46.

² *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 6. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁴ Sir Harry Johnston, *Nineteenth Century* (Sept. 1911).

AFRICA AND THE EAST

to the people under its sway. But it has first to be proved that native stills would appear with any rapidity, and if they did appear, whether the customs officers could not, after a short time, bring them under control.

The possibility that prohibition would be hindered by smuggling is more real. It is so real that it has been said that prohibition only becomes possible when the European governments act in concert in any particular area. The customs and police of Southern Nigeria should be well able to control the importation of spirits along the coast. Steamers cannot approach the coast nearer than three miles. Spirits can only be landed by means of surf boats. Often the bar is impassable to surf boats. A system of coastguards should be able to check any smuggling that might be attempted. The difficulty would be greater along the French and German frontiers. There are many by-paths through the bush. It is probable that a complete control would only be effected by means of combined action with the Customs of Dahomey and the Kamerun.

On the other hand, there is at present considerable inducement to smuggle spirits from Dahomey into Southern Nigeria. The French duty is only 3s. 7½d. against the British duty of 5s. A sufficiently wide margin of profit is open to encourage illicit traffic. Yet, both the Comptroller of Customs and Inspector-General of Police said that there was no smuggling on the French frontier.¹ The inducement to illicit traffic has been recently reduced by increased restriction within the territory of Dahomey.² On the German frontier the Comptroller said that difficulties in the way of smuggling were greater than on the French frontier. There was more communication between the two colonies. But the German duty of 13s. 6d. a gallon would almost prohibit any illicit traffic from the

¹ *Minutes of Evidence*, pp. 6 and 13.

² Native Races Committee, 27th Annual Report, p. 17.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

Kamerun. The temptation is to smuggle from Southern Nigeria into the Kamerun.

The Head of the Forestry Department of the dependency stated that if a policy of prohibition were enforced, the demand for palm wine would be so great that the palm trees would be destroyed. A superintendent of the roads in the District of Ibadan made a contrary statement. He had never seen palm trees which had died or been cut down as the result of being tapped for palm wine; "a palm tree is so valuable that a native would almost as soon cut off his own head as cut a tree down or kill it." ¹ The native chief of Ikale said that although some natives under the present system cut down palm trees, there would be no increase in the number of such offences if gin were prohibited. "If there is no more gin every one will take care of his own palm trees and not allow them to be cut down." ²

Palm trees are the source of the valuable commercial product, palm oil. It is not probable that the source of any article which is commercially valuable would be damaged. But if the prohibition of the import of spirits into Southern Nigeria would result in a widespread felling of palm trees, then clearly the craving for gin has obtained so great a hold upon the people that they are willing to sacrifice a lucrative article of commerce. In this case the liquor traffic stands condemned on commercial as well as moral grounds. Moreover, by cutting down the palm trees the natives would be destroying the sources of the native drink. It is improbable that they would be so shortsighted, especially as the trees remain uninjured, when tapped in moderation.

The foregoing objections appear to express the cautious attitude of a paternal government which has native interests chiefly at heart. The native races are to be preserved from the alleged evils of native distilling, they

¹ *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 183.

² *Ibid.*, p. 213.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

are to be guarded from the demoralising effects of smuggling, they are to be prevented from damaging their own commercial interests by cutting down palm trees. The panacea for all these evils is the importation of gin. That is to say, a liquor is brought into the country which does them far more harm than the strongest of the native liquors; which creates so great a craving that, on the admission of government officials, they will be tempted to run the risks of smuggling, and of ruining the palm oil trade, if they are deprived of the indulgence.

The real objection to prohibition lies in the fact that a large part of the revenue is raised from the importation of European spirits. Next to the preservation of order, the collection of revenue is the first necessity of government. Throughout the world, taxation on liquor produces a large proportion of the revenue. In Southern Nigeria the percentage is higher than in most other countries. In England it is 28 per cent., in Southern Nigeria, at the time of the inquiry, it was 55·9 per cent. of the total revenue of the colony.¹

Two difficulties stand in the way of the abandonment of this source of revenue—the objection of the natives to direct taxation, and the fact that direct taxation would produce only a fifth of the revenue obtained from the liquor traffic.

Neither of these difficulties is insurmountable. It is a fact that the natives of Southern Nigeria would strongly oppose the introduction of a hut tax. They have never been accustomed to direct taxation in any form. But the natives of Africa generally have been in the same condition, and yet in British Central Africa, East Africa, Uganda and South Africa, as well as in Northern Nigeria, a hut tax has been introduced as a regular item of taxation, without any serious consequences. An unsuccessful attempt was made to collect a similar tax in Sierra Leone,

¹ *Minutes of Evidence.*

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

but it has been pointed out that the tax was introduced too suddenly, and the officials blundered in collecting it. Moreover, it has been stated by a high authority that "if the question was put fair and square to the people of that country [*Southern Nigeria*], and to the chiefs, in the course of two or three years the mass of the natives would agree to pay a small hut tax, especially if they were told that rum and gin were the undoing of their land, and that the entrance of these liquors would forthwith be abolished."¹

The direct taxation of the native is desirable in order to create in him a sense of responsibility, without which a settled condition of society is difficult to attain.² It is essential to impress upon the native mind the fact that they can and must participate in the government of the country. This can only be done by getting them to contribute towards the expenses of administration. They are likely to value more highly a government for which they have to pay directly. Moreover, direct taxation fosters commerce, and settled habits of life. In order to pay the hut tax or gun tax, or both, the natives must work.³ Commerce will be fostered in two directions: firstly, by providing labour for the extension of commercial enterprise; secondly, by supplying the natives with wages which will be spent increasingly upon the imports of European trade.

There is, also, the broader question of political ethics—what the native receives he should pay for.⁴ The former government by tribal chiefs gave no security for life and property. This has been introduced by the British administration. It is only fair to ask the native to contribute to the cost of the benefits which he now enjoys.

¹ Sir Harry Johnston, *Nineteenth Century* (Sept. 1911).

² Lady Lugard, *A Tropical Dependency* (1905), p. 464.

³ Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate* (1902), p. 259.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

But when the principle of direct taxation has been accepted, the administration in Southern Nigeria will be faced with the fact that a reasonable hut tax would only produce some £200,000,¹ about a fifth of the revenue obtained from the liquor traffic. It would be long before the natives were in a sufficiently advanced economic condition to enable them to contribute the whole of the expenses of administration by direct taxation. The difficulty cannot be blinked by alleging the fact that the revenue is already being drawn from the natives, and that the suppression of the liquor traffic would only entail a change in the form in which the contribution is made. It would entail something more than a change of form, there would be a change in distribution. A large number of natives who do not consume alcohol would be placed under taxation which at present they escape. That is, of course, a very desirable end, but to the native mind any change which necessitated payment for what was then received free of charge would be regarded with obvious disfavour. Moreover, the liquor-drinking natives would feel that they were still paying for the administration, but without the solace of the gin.

It is impossible to hope that the difference between the proceeds of a hut tax and the proceeds of the liquor revenue could be made up until many years had passed. All the resources of a strong government would be needed to collect the hut tax itself and to pacify the opposition which it would arouse. For the rest, the revenue would have to be raised by means of higher import duties on other European goods, or by export duties, or by a grant from the Imperial treasury. Each of these expedients presents difficulties, but none of them raises an objection of so great a force as the moral objection, arising from the collection of revenue, from a trade which is damaging the morality and physique of the native races.

¹ Sir Harry Johnston, *Nineteenth Century* (Sept. 1911).

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

In South Africa, beyond the region of the Brussels Act, prohibition has for long been recognised. Until recently no South African administration thought of questioning the policy. But it has not been completely successful, owing to the fact that liquor has been supplied under a system of "permits" to natives possessing certain qualifications. By means of supplies from this class and from Europeans, the consumption of alcohol among the native races has increased. The problem has become exceedingly difficult in South Africa owing to the fact that the white population is large, compared with other parts of Africa, and the quantity of liquor in circulation amongst them is proportionately large. The difficulty of checking illicit trading is enormously increased. Moreover, the natives resent what they feel to be a race privilege allowed to Europeans. Probably only in total prohibition for white and black alike will any satisfactory solution of the problem be reached.

A commission of inquiry recently recommended some relaxation of legislation with regard to the prohibition of the sale of alcohol to natives.¹ The suggestion was met with opposition by representatives of most of the white interests in South Africa, including the press and the mining organisations.² The effect of drink was to make them intractable and inefficient as labourers. Crime, especially stock theft, increased. The position of white women became one of extreme danger. Even the Commission of Inquiry described the effects of liquor as outrageous. The ravages of alcohol upon the Hottentot people have already been mentioned. There can be little doubt that the troubles created for the Cape Government by the Zulus were largely influenced by the use of alcohol among the fighting men.

On the other hand, the effects of a policy of prohibition

¹ Native Affairs Commission (1906-7), Report, p. 35.

² Native Races Committee, 25th Annual Report, p. 65.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

have been equally well marked. Among the Basuto, especially, it has been held partly to account for the continued cohesion of the race, and the magnificent physique of individuals.¹ From an early period in their relations with white men, the chiefs of the Basuto and kindred tribes have made a spontaneous stand against the introduction of spirituous liquor within their territories, earning the commendation of more than one high official of the British administration.² Khama, the chief of the Bama-ngwato, made the suppression of the liquor traffic with his subjects the main object of his life and rule. In a letter to the British Commissioner he said: "I fear Lo Bengula [*an aggressive Matabile chief*] less than I fear brandy. I fought against Lo Bengula and drove him back. He never gives me a sleepless night. But to fight against drink is to fight against demons and not men. I fear the white man's drink more than I fear the assegais of the Matabile, which kill men's bodies. Drink puts devils into men and destroys their souls and bodies."³ Among the petitions presented by a deputation of Basuto chiefs to King Edward VII. in England in 1909, was a request for the restriction of the sale of liquor within their territories.⁴ The Government of Natal showed more readiness to comply with the opinions of prohibitionists, both white and black, than that of Cape Colony. So long ago as 1898 Lord Bryce suggested that the regulations in Natal might well be put in force throughout the whole of Cape Colony.⁵

The Report of the South African Native Affairs Commission of 1903-5, which ended its inquiries only one year before those of the Natal Commission commenced, contains a strong recommendation in favour of the policy of prohibition.

¹ James Bryce, *Impressions of South Africa* (1898), p. 428.

² *Ibid.*, p. 405.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 261 f.

⁴ Sir Godfrey Lagden, *The Basutos* (1909), pp. 623-624.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 448.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

“The weight of evidence before the Commission in regard to the liquor question has been overwhelming in favour of total prohibition to natives.”¹

“The Commission has carefully weighed the issues and does not consider that there is sufficient justification where the measure of total prohibition is, or may hereafter be, put in force, to make any exception from its operation in respect of any native labourers in any part of the country.”² . . .

“In favour of the exemption from prohibition of natives who are Parliamentary voters, as in the Cape Colony, excepting the Transkei, it has been urged that having qualified for the franchise they may be assumed sufficiently advanced to have developed self-restraint and self-respect enough to be freed from all restrictions in respect to liquor. Experience, however, disproves the assumption; the fact being that the native is constitutionally incapable of being a moderate drinker, and that he must either abstain entirely or the chances are that he will drink to excess, and when in drink all the failings of his nature assert themselves.”³

“The evidence shows that the natives themselves and their best friends unitedly desire prohibition. Even were it otherwise, the Commission would not recommend an exemption which must inevitably increase the manifold obstacles to the effective administration of prohibitive legislation.”⁴

“It is further recommended that no liquor license should be issued where the surroundings point to the conclusion that a license is really sought as a cloak to cover illicit sale to natives.”⁵

“In pursuance of these views the resolutions were unanimously passed as follows—

¹ Report, § 348.

² *Ibid.*, § 349.

³ *Ibid.*, § 350.

⁴ *Ibid.*, § 351.

⁵ *Ibid.*, § 353.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

“(a) That the sale or supply of spirituous liquors to natives should be prohibited.

“(b) That the penalties for the contravention of the laws or regulations prohibiting the sale or supply of liquor to natives should be uniformly severe throughout South Africa.

“(c) That no license should be granted to sell or supply spirituous liquors within any native location or reserve, or in the proximity thereof, where the reasonable conclusion is that no remunerative business can be conducted without sale or supply of liquor to natives.”¹

The Report of this Commission forms a striking contrast with that of the Nigerian Commission of 1909.² The South African Commissioners recommend total prohibition, where the natives are concerned, in a country which has been in touch with white races as long as Southern Nigeria, and where the white population is more numerous, and more widely scattered among the native races. The latter fact enhances the difficulty of enforcing prohibition. But no objection is raised by the South African Report on the ground of illicit distillation and sale among the natives, though these difficulties are not passed over in silence.³ It even points out a difficulty which does not appear to have arisen in Southern Nigeria—the custom of supplying labourers on farms with liquor as an inducement to work.⁴ It is a moderate conclusion to draw that the policy of total prohibition of spirituous liquor to the native races of Africa has not yet been proved unworkable. In every region covered by the Brussels Act, with the exception of Southern Nigeria, and in the wide territories of British South Africa, with the exception of Natal, official evidence concurs with that of philanthropists in adhering to the

¹ Report, § 354.

³ Report, § 352.

² Cf. *supra*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, § 348.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

policy. In Natal the Commission of 1906-7 advised some relaxation of the policy, but many close observers in the colony continued to demand that the practice of prohibition which was in vogue in Natal should be maintained.

An experiment in local option was recently introduced by Lord Crewe into Sierra Leone. The experiment had the full support of Sir Leslie Probyn, the Governor. It was introduced as an alternative to prohibition. But the demarcation of an area of prohibition in Sierra Leone in 1913 points to the fact that local option has not produced the results expected. The conclusion might have been anticipated. Even in a highly civilised western country like Norway, which has for years devoted itself to the restriction of the liquor traffic, local option has not met with unqualified support. In some towns, the *Semlag*, or municipal company, for the control of the sale of liquors, and the instrument by which local option is exerted, has met with distinct opposition, on the ground that it has not been completely effective.¹ In a backward country like Southern Nigeria, where morality and self-restraint are in the first stages of development, and where the taste for strong drink has already been considerably cultivated, it is almost useless to expect that the native races will be able to recognise the benefits of total abstinence, unsupported by Government action. Here and there a chief may be found who is sufficiently strong-minded to give up the use of liquor himself, but even so he will have extreme difficulty in persuading his people to follow suit. Government action, on the principles of the Brussels Act, is necessary.

In preparing the way for the introduction of a policy of prohibition, the Government can receive material assistance from the philanthropic and religious organisations which are interested in the welfare of the native races.

¹ Prof. James Seth, *Contemporary Review* (Dec. 1906).

AFRICA AND THE EAST

The regulations of the Government often appear to be capricious to the native mind. They sometimes become mysterious and unreasonable where the seat of Government is not in their midst. There is considerable scope for the agents of Christianity to act as interpreters of Government policy, more especially as they generally come into closer contact with the natives, and for more prolonged periods than the agents of the Government.

There will be temptation to resort to persuasion, coloured by an appeal to Christian dogma. Such influence, especially in the case of adults, cannot be exerted with any hope of lasting success. The Christian religion does not contain any dogma which prohibits the consumption of alcohol. Even St. Paul, the most dogmatic exponent of New Testament Christianity, advises total abstinence only on the ground of expediency. No benefit will accrue to Christianity by adding to the dogmatic restrictions of its creed.

The appeal must be made to the utilitarian sense of the native. It should be impressed upon him that on medical and economic grounds the consumption of liquor is bad for him. Alcohol diminishes his physical vitality, and creates a susceptibility to disease. It lessens his efficiency for trade and agriculture. In some cases it may be necessary to adopt a more stringent attitude, especially when the abuse of strong drink has resulted in crime or in the ill-treatment of wives and children. In such a case it may be necessary to insist upon the promise of total abstinence as a condition of baptism. But where drunkenness has not become a habit, the catechumen should not be made to sign the pledge. It is better to encourage temperance by fostering a spontaneous attitude of self-restraint, than by imposing from without a restriction which cannot be supported by any intrinsic virtue.

In dealing with children the case is different. On purely disciplinary grounds, apart from all medical considerations,

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

it is desirable that prohibition of the custom of tasting alcohol should be enforced in the mission and Government schools. But the matter should not be allowed to stand at a mere prohibitive rule. Explanation and exhortation, in the form of temperance lectures, should form a regular, though not too frequent, feature in school life. General habits of self-restraint must be encouraged, and total abstinence in the use of alcohol forms a useful example for the enforcement of teaching. In all cases the school-master, and especially the Christian missionary, should keep in touch with the parents in order to prevent, so far as possible, the instruction received in school from being undermined by lax practice at home. In Africa, as in England, there is need for co-operation between teachers and parents.

The educational influence of Christianity can be exerted upon adults as well as upon children. Administrators have drawn attention to the desirability of extending the temperance campaign among the native races, by means of public meetings and the formation of native temperance societies.¹ All the instruments of temperance propaganda in England can be used in Africa—the lecture, the lantern, the pledge (provided that total abstinence is not taught as Christian dogma). It has been further suggested that the attention of philanthropists can be partly devoted to supplying counter-attractions to the gin-bottle, by fostering native amusements which are harmless in character.

Perhaps the most practical form of temperance activity among the natives lies in the work of industrial missions. By training the younger men and women in useful arts and crafts, new wants are created and new objects on which to spend wages become desired, with the result that less money is left to be spent on alcohol, while a more useful kind of import is encouraged. Training civilises the natives. Civilisation creates new needs, but diminishes

¹ Sir Leslie Probyn, *Nineteenth Century* (June 1910).

AFRICA AND THE EAST

wants. The character of trade is thereby changed. The staple of trade is no longer strong drink or weapons of destruction. It offers to the native, now trained in sound habits of industry, tools and household utensils, woven cotton and leather goods.

The value of industrial training has long been proved in South Africa. It is the source of the true civilisation.¹ If the native races of the earth have often, in the past, been damaged by contact with civilised people, that was because no attempt was made to give them industrial instruction.² The introduction of industrial training promises not only to relieve the stress of the labour problem, but to remove much of the influence of strong drink.

In the work of training the natives in useful arts and crafts, the missionary societies have played a leading part.³ By means of this form of missionary enterprise the temperance question is not the least of many problems to which industrial missions are offering a solution.

The liquor problem presents rather a social than a religious question to Christian missionaries. On this ground they should be useful advisers to the officers of the Government, inasmuch as their work carries them into the closest contact with the social life of the people. But they must be careful not to let religious enthusiasm or prejudice influence their relations with the administration.

For this reason it is better to approach the Government through some representative agency, and not individually. A committee of representatives is less likely to indulge in rhetorical accusations and fulminations. It commands more respect on the part of the executive and administrative. Moreover, it is desirable that the committee,

¹ R. C. F. Maugham, *Zambezia* (1910), p. 107.

² James Bryce, *Impressions of South Africa* (1898), p. 428.

³ Sir Godfrey Lagden, *The Basutos* (1909), p. 65. Sir H. Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo* (1908), pp. 237-243, etc.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

which acts as a medium between the individual exponent of Christian policy and the Government, should represent all the Christian interests at work. It is not desirable that every missionary society should have a temperance committee for the purpose of communicating with the Government. *An organisation like the Native Races and United Liquor Traffic Committee,*¹ which has the support of the leading missionary societies, is likely to negotiate more effectually than the different societies when acting independently. By the collection of evidence, by the presentation of reports and by deputations to the Colonial Office, by questions in the House of Commons, and still more by the unpretentious and efficient manner in which these things have been done, it has won for itself and for Christianity, a respect which no Colonial Secretary can afford to disregard.

The Native Races Committee has adopted the principle of prohibition so far as the African dependencies are concerned. Although the operations of the Committee are conducted independently of any Christian missionary body, the principle of prohibition is Christian, not merely in form but in origin. It sprang from the newly awakened religious conscience of Europe, towards the close of the nineteenth century; but, in addition, it embodies the principle of temperance enunciated by St. Paul.

The Apostle's teaching upon temperance did not insist upon any merely abstract theory of total abstinence. All meats are good, and are to be received with thanksgiving. But what may be good for one man, may be bad for another. Thus, some men are prohibited from the consumption of certain things, because of the special temptation to themselves, which is involved in the act of consumption.² Moreover—and here appears what we may

¹ Secretary : Mr. John Newton, 187-8, Palace Chambers, 9 Bridge Street, Westminster, S.W.

² Rom. xiv. ; 1 Cor. viii.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

call the Apostle's principle of prohibition—it may be necessary for those to whom certain things do not form a temptation, to forego consumption on account of the weaker brethren, who may be led into excess by seeing the stronger man partake.

In West Africa we may assume that alcoholic liquor is not bad for the white man—though many authorities would disagree—but it is bad for the native. Moreover, the native is tempted to drink, and to drink to excess, by seeing the white man drink. Therefore it becomes the duty of the white man, as the elder brother in the Christian family, to refrain from importing spirits, and to prohibit their sale and consumption, in the interest of the black man, who is the younger brother. Or, if the white man is not willing to adhere to St. Paul's principle of total abstinence whenever the weak brother is made to offend, at least he should provide that the distribution of spirits among the native races is prohibited.

With the exception of St. Paul's categorical statement, the New Testament contains no specific teaching upon temperance. Dogmatic utterance is not a characteristic of the New Testament. But this does not mean that historical Christianity has power to sanction slackness of life and conduct. The detailed interpretation of Christian teaching was left until necessity arose, point by point. The application of Christian teaching was left to the high feeling and common sense of the faithful, who are expected to apply to every particular case the general principles of Christ's teaching. For, if the Gospels contain no direct instruction upon many matters which concern the relations between man and man, such instructions are implied in Christ's great principle: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." This principle was developed by St. John, though in general terms,¹ but, in the matter of temperance, St. Paul applied it in detail.

¹ Cf. the Epistles.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY

So that while Christianity offers no dogmatic prohibition to the consumption of alcohol, it does possess a prohibition of expediency. But expediency, and especially moral expediency, sometimes becomes almost dogmatic in insistency. St. Paul was driven by practical difficulties to develop Christ's law of love to one's neighbour until, in the matter of temperance, where the weak brother is concerned, it becomes almost a dogmatic prohibition.

Hence the policy of prohibition in Africa is a test question between Christian and non-Christian, among the white races. Every one, trader, administrator, or missionary, who professes the Christian faith, is bound to approach it from the Christian standpoint. Meanwhile, until prohibition has become law, so that the drink traffic no longer presents a religious aspect to the missionaries, it is necessary to maintain a distinction between administrative and missionary policy. Prohibition cannot be made a dogma by Christian missionaries, without injuring the spirit and character of the faith. On the other hand, prohibition is the only practicable policy for the administration, and abstinence should be the practice of individual white men. The missionary may not, save for additional reasons, decline to baptise a native merely because the native refuses to sign the pledge. But the missionary should be himself a total abstainer, and the Government should remove all difficulty by prohibiting the import of alcoholic liquor.

CHAPTER IX

INDIA : THE LIQUOR TRADE

INDIA represents 33 per cent. of the commercial power of Great Britain. One-third of the trade of Great Britain is carried on annually with India. Upon the preservation of the East Indian trade, against the competition of other European nations and of America, depends, to a large extent, the future supremacy of the Empire. Imperially, therefore, India is a problem of trade. Its organic connection with the rest of the Empire is a commercial relationship. But the problems which face the Government of India, in the internal administration of the country, are not commercial. They may have a commercial aspect, but in essence they are political, religious, sociological, educational, and economic—in so far as that term is concerned with the material prosperity of the Indian peoples, apart from their commercial relationships within the Empire. It is true that the opium question was a commercial problem affecting European and native interests. It arose out of the contact of the two races, and of their relations with a third race. Moreover, the export of opium had a big significance for the Indian administration. Its cultivation in the British states was an Indian Government monopoly.¹ Over £4,000,000 was derived from export duties on opium. But so far as China was concerned it was a commercial problem. Now that the opium traffic has been ended by the intervention of a

¹ But opium grown in Native States also passed through the hands of the excise officials of the Government of India. This was known as Malwa opium.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

Government which, after long delay, has placed a moral before a commercial or even an administrative necessity, no other trade question looms so large in India as the labour and liquor questions in Africa. The liquor trade in India is a question of administration, so far as the British Government is concerned. It is not a commercial problem arising out of the importation of European alcohol into India. It cannot be regarded, in the first instance, as a problem arising from the contact of the two races. In spite of the fact that the two great religious systems of India have always prohibited the use of alcohol, the Indian peoples have always indulged in alcoholic liquors.¹ European liquors have played a very small part in the drink traffic in India. To-day the importation of European liquor is quite stationary. The consumption consists almost entirely of native alcohol—arrack and toddy. Arrack is a highly intoxicating spirit. Toddy is a fermented palm wine. The consumption of both liquors is increasing at a rate which alarms those who have the moral and material condition of the Indian peoples at heart. The question involves the British administration because the Government has undertaken to regulate the supply and distribution of both these forms of alcohol. It has become a controversial problem because a large item in the revenue is derived from excise duties on these drinks. Thus it is a question of administration. Reformers point to the fact that the Government of India has rightly stopped the opium traffic in the interests of the people of China, but it has made no equivalent attempt to check the drink trade in the interests of the people of India.

Provided that the essential difference is observed between the commercial character of the liquor trade in Africa and the administrative character of the trade in India, it is permissible to contrast the question in these

¹ S. M. Mitra, *Indian Problems*, p. 94 ff.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

countries in some detail, and to treat it as a problem presenting a similar external aspect.

Over the greater part of Africa the principle of prohibition has been accepted by the governing powers. In India prohibition is not the policy adopted even by temperance reformers.¹ The conditions in the two countries differ considerably. They differ so greatly that it is scarcely possible without confusion and apparent contradiction to reduce them to common terms. The extent of the liquor traffic is much greater in India than in Africa; but in the particular areas in Africa in which it is extensive, the problem is more acute than in any given district in India. The Indian trade ramifies so widely and is so deeply rooted, that any policy of control can only be remedial. The day for prevention has passed. In Africa, on the other hand, though the traffic has assumed serious proportions in certain regions, it has not spread over the whole continent. A preventive policy is therefore possible. Moreover, it is possible on other grounds. The African people are more backward than the more civilised races of India. They are therefore more easily governed, and a policy of prohibition does not meet with that sturdy opposition which would face the introduction of a similar policy into India. Again, prohibitive measures in Africa are more necessary. The native races are less self-controlled than the people of India. If the liquor traffic has not yet become a continental problem in Africa, that is not due to any superior moral quality possessed by the African. Indeed, the menace to native society threatened by alcohol in Africa is far more serious than any similar danger in India, because of the lack of moral fibre in the people. So that in Africa prohibition is more urgent. On the other hand, the larger consumption of native liquors in India necessitates some policy of restriction. The

¹ But the liquor shops of Amritsar, outside the city, have been closed by the Government: *Abkari*, Jan. 1916, p. 13.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

liquor problem in India is largely created by the consumption of native alcohol. In Africa, native liquors do not form a menace to the welfare of the people.

It is obvious that in comparing the problem in two countries where the conditions differ so widely, statements of a general character must often appear contradictory. This fact cannot be too prominently kept in view throughout the following discussion. It is quite possible to assert that prohibition is more needed in India than in Africa, on account of the wider extent of the liquor traffic. But we are dealing with possibilities not with ideals, and even if an ideal policy were pursued, the danger threatened in Africa is greater than any which may already exist in India, and calls for more serious attention.

A fundamental difficulty lies before any attempt to estimate the nature of the problem in India. The data for arriving at the actual increase in the consumption of alcohol are exceedingly misleading. If the revenue returns are taken as a basis, it is at once obvious that any increase observed must be heavily discounted by the fact that taxation has increased, and illicit manufacture is continually being suppressed, while the illicit trade comes under the levy of the excise officer. If the figures for consumption be taken, the suppression of illicit stills will swell the recorded consumption without affecting the actual position. There is a material difference between recorded and actual consumption. The increase in recorded consumption of "country spirit" for the years 1905-12 was 41 per cent. The actual increase for the same period was only 5 per cent. Again, the revenue from imported foreign liquors for the same period increased by 29 per cent., while the imports actually decreased by 6 per cent.¹ But even these figures can be misleading. It has been shown that in Calcutta the actual increase from 1909-10

¹ Correspondence regarding Excise Administration, II. (1914), p. 229.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

to 1910-11 was 10 per cent.¹ A similar rise in consumption has been observed in other urban areas. The inference follows that in the country districts the actual consumption is not, at present, increasing, whereas in the towns the increase is considerable. The actual increase in the towns is made to appear smaller by taking a percentage over the whole population of India.

There has been a steady increase in the total excise revenue during the last forty years—

1874-5	£1,564,000
1884-5	2,674,000
1894-5	3,618,000
1904-5	5,353,000
1905-6	5,687,000
1906-7	5,898,000
1907-8	6,227,000
1908-9	6,389,000
1909-10	6,537,000
1910-11	7,030,000
1911-12 (Revised Estimate)	7,646,000
1912-13 (Budget Estimate)	7,907,000

Further statistics can be produced to show that the increase is maintained over the greater part of India. Each of the seven larger provinces shows a rise in its excise revenue during the eleven years 1900-1 to 1911-12 by amounts varying from 24 per cent. to 120 per cent.² Much of the advance in revenue is due to an increase in the incidence of taxation. Much of it is due to the taxation of consumption which formerly escaped by being supplied from native stills. It has been attributed partly to increased consumption owing to an advance in the prosperity of the people. The greater consumption of liquor is a sign of the rise in the standard of comfort. The growing industrial population has been alleged as another cause. But Mr. Gokhale pointed out, in his

¹ Statement submitted to Under-Secretary of State for India, July 1912.

² Statement submitted by Sir Herbert Roberts to Lord Crewe (July 18, 1912).

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

speech on the deputation received by Lord Crewe in July 1912, that while the excise revenue had advanced by 60 per cent. in the interval between 1894 and 1904, the population had only increased by 5 per cent. to 6 per cent.; and during the ten years 1902 to 1912, the factory population had only increased by 300,000, or .1 per cent. of the total population of India. Again, it has been said that the rise in wages has influenced the growing consumption and revenue.¹ But if the increased revenue is due partly to this cause, conclusive proof is provided that more alcohol is being consumed, and if there has also been a rise in prices, then, the increased consumption proved by the revenue returns shows that less is being spent on the necessities of life. Moreover, experience in England seems to show that there is no very close relation between rise in wages or prices and increase in consumption. If a man falls under the liquor habit, he will purchase drink regardless of the amount of his wages.

It will be noticed that under the plea of legitimate consumption, the confession is tacitly made that consumption is increasing among certain classes of the community. For, when every allowance has been made for the differences between recorded and actual consumption, there still remains a wide margin in the revenue receipts unexplained by any of these causes.

It is true that the importation of spirits has been practically stationary during the past ten years. But the Government of India has encouraged Indian production by means of the central distilleries, which have been created ostensibly with the object of competing with, and ultimately ousting, the old outstill system. The central distilleries cannot fail to encourage the liquor traffic, while it is extremely difficult to say how much of their increasing output is due to the repression of outstills in the locality, and how much must be assigned

¹ Reply to Sir Herbert Roberts (Cd. 4488), 1909.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

to an increase in the demand. The evidence from Calcutta points to a tendency to an increase in output even where there are no outstills to be repressed. This was confirmed by the statement of a judge of the Calcutta High Court, who said that the evil was making rapid strides.¹ The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab has spoken of the prevalence of intemperance among the Sikhs, and in the central districts generally.² Prince and peasant, educated and uneducated, are being involved in a common ruin.³ On August 28, 1911, the Punjab Government resolved that "... there can be no doubt that the chief cause of the growth of income is the increase of consumption and the spread of the liquor habit. . . . It can only be concluded that, apart from the very serious increase of drunkenness in certain districts such as Ferozepore, the number of persons who have acquired the habit of indulgence in alcohol is steadily increasing throughout the province." The Chief Presidency Magistrate of Bombay has drawn attention to the need for temperance work in Bombay on the ground that 3,300 persons are arrested and brought before the magistrates every year on charges of being drunk and disorderly. The President of the Bombay Millowner's Association, while addressing that body in 1910, said: "During the recent inquiry of the 'Liquor Committee,' which held its sittings in Bombay it was brought out in evidence that the mill-hands spent more money in liquor than on food or clothes. . . . If the mill-hands are cured of the vice of drinking, they would naturally spend their money on the education of their children."

Statements of a similar character are made repeatedly in the Madras Presidency, where the Government have frequently admitted the growing seriousness of the evil.

¹ Sir Gurundas Banerjee, Calcutta, Dec. 1911.

² Sir Louis Dane, at Lahore, March 6, 1911.

³ Sir Louis Dane, at Faridkote.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

In April 1911 the Finance Member of the Madras Government, speaking in the Legislative Council drew attention to the very large increase in consumption during the last ten years. A resolution in favour of local option, moved on April 6, 1910, was supported by nearly all the non-official Indian members. On February 14, 1912, a resolution was moved to the effect that "this Council notes with regret the large rise in the consumption of toddy and arrack that has been steadily going on in this Presidency, in spite of the most stringent measures taken by the authorities to check the evil. . . ." Every one of the Indian members present supported the motion. So also, in 1911 the Madras Social Conference passed a resolution, moving that "this conference views with grave concern the growth of the evil of drink in this Presidency, and urges that caste organisations, temperance societies, and other public bodies should make every effort to diminish the evil. This conference is further of the opinion that the Government should adopt the principle of local option, besides introducing other necessary changes in the excise policy and administration, so as to minimise the temptations to drink."

In addition to the utterances of officials and Indian public men, frequent references to the drink question are made by the press, by representatives of the clergy and missionary societies, and by temperance reformers. The increasing revenue and consumption are causing a widespread impression of misgiving. The explanations offered by excise officials are not able to remove the conviction that the Government statistics represent a more true aspect of the case than the interpretation placed by the Government upon these figures. The feeling is widely prevalent that the increasing revenue is a sign of what Lord Morley called "an undoubted increase in the drinking habits of the people." Lord Crewe has made a similar admission. In his despatch to the Governor-General of

AFRICA AND THE EAST

India, dated May 29, 1914, he said:- "The general conclusion that the action of the Government has checked any widespread expansion of consumption over India as a whole is, unfortunately, qualified by the fact that in certain areas alluded to in the Local Governments' Reports, an increase alike of consumption and intemperance must be admitted and faced."

In addition to the difficulty of estimating the effect of the central distilleries upon consumption, the Government have no reliable data for discovering the effect of higher taxation. The imposition of the maximum taxation congruent with the minimum temptation to illicit manufacture is the principle upon which the whole Indian excise system is managed. But when an attempt is made to estimate the increase in consumption in relation to the growth of the revenue, it is most difficult to ascertain what proportion of the increased revenue must be attributed to the increase in taxation, and what proportion is due to the fact that the outstills are being gradually replaced by distillery centres, and illicit trading is gradually being suppressed. If the amount of illicit traffic displaced by the central distillery system were known, it would be possible to estimate what proportion of the increased revenue was due to higher taxation, and what proportion was due to greater consumption.

Besides the increase in the incidence of taxation, and the creation of central distilleries, much has been done to control the liquor traffic by closing drink-shops in areas where they are not needed. Since 1905-6 the country spirit-shops have been reduced by 7,788; opium-shops by 2,380; shops for the retail sale of hemp drugs by 1,516; toddy-shops by 11,150; foreign liquor-shops have increased by 181; thus making a total net reduction of 22,653 shops during the last seven years.¹ But in spite of this policy

¹ Correspondence regarding Indian Excise Administration, I. (1914), p. 3.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

the consumption of liquor has not decreased. Similarly the hours during which the sale of liquor can take place, have been shortened in certain areas, and the minimum age for purchasers of liquor has been raised, throughout the country, from fourteen to sixteen.

One thing seems to be clear. So far as the excise traffic is concerned, apart from any temptation to consider the needs of revenue, the Government of India are honestly endeavouring to check the growth of the liquor traffic. It is not an easy matter, it is still less a wise one, to make an allegation, like that inferred in the foregoing qualification, against a body of officials who possess the character and experience belonging to the excise officials of India. At the same time it must be remembered that human nature does not often withstand the temptation to over-efficiency, presented to officials where the collection of revenue and the administration of excise are placed in the same hands. Saving this qualification, it may be granted unhesitatingly that the Government is not merely alive to the liquor problem, but is taking steps towards its solution. The only question arises from the rate at which regulations are made, and the stringency with which they are enforced.

A deputation received by Lord Hardinge in November 1913 recommended the separation of the revenue and licensing functions. The Secretary of State for India (Lord Crewe) had admitted, with caution, the desirability of separating these functions. The deputation to Lord Hardinge suggested that district excise officers, who had charge of revenue and other matters of administration bearing upon excise, should be placed under the supervision of some officer other than the executive officer of the district. The district officers would then be left free to control the licensing functions with the assistance of the advisory committees, and could give their main attention, so far as excise was concerned, to carrying out the

AFRICA AND THE EAST

principles laid down by the Government of India in its excise policy.¹

The policy of temperance reformers in India centres round the recognition of the principle of local option. It is doubtful whether prohibition is practicable,² though occasionally a voice, Indian as well as European, is raised on its behalf. The principle of local option has been partly recognised on the side of the Government by the creation, in certain municipal areas, of local advisory committees, with power to control the issue of licenses. Good work has already been done by these committees. Four hundred and ninety-five shops have been closed on their recommendation, but out of a total of 186 committees, 103 have an official majority. Together with the fact that the chairman is the senior magistrate and revenue officer, this arrangement has opened the advisory committees to criticism.

The separation of the functions of revenue and licensing is regarded as the first step towards giving the advisory committees greater freedom of action. The deputation to Lord Crewe of July 1912 had already recommended the extension of their influence by—

(1) The appointment of committees, as soon as practicable, throughout the whole of India.

(2) The committees should be made more representative of local opinion.

(3) They should in every case contain a majority of non-officials, appointed independently of the Excise Department.

¹ Lord Cross' despatches, April 19, 1888, and March 14, 1889.

(a) Any extension of the habit of drinking was to be discouraged.

(b) Taxation to be as high as possible without encouraging illicit manufacture and vend.

(c) Subject to these considerations, a maximum revenue was to be raised from a minimum consumption of intoxicating liquors: Correspondence regarding Indian Excise Administration, I. (1914), pp. 1-2.

² But cf. footnote, p. 129.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

(4) The committees should be empowered to deal with all licenses for the sale of intoxicants.

(5) Meetings should be held more frequently than at present.

(6) *The recommendations of the committees should only be disregarded when there are substantial reasons for exercising an official veto.*

In its reply to the Secretary of State for India, the Government of India pointed out that the system of advisory committees had been considerably developed. The Bengal Government had led the way in this development, "in constituting all local boards into committees for the rural areas in which they are situated; in delegating to Commissioners of Divisions power to appoint committees for the municipal areas under their charge; and in appointing fresh committees with licensing powers for Calcutta and its suburbs. In Assam the Municipal Boards act as advisory committees in urban areas, and the Chief Commissioner proposes that the local boards should be similarly consulted in future with regard to rural areas. In the Punjab and the United Provinces, advisory committees are employed, though they have not yet been found very helpful. In Bombay, the system is widely in force. In the United Provinces and in Bihar and Orissa, it has hitherto been in force in the principal towns, but will now be extended to all municipalities, and in the latter province it will also be tried in rural areas. In Burma, the Local Government propose to increase the number of committees from ten to sixty. In Madras, the system is already in force in all municipalities, and the question of its extension to unions is under consideration."

It is clear that the introduction of licensing committees into country districts has already been made. The first suggestion of the deputation to Lord Crewe is thus at the

AFRICA AND THE EAST

experimental stage. But the Government of India pointed out certain objections to the inclusion of a non-official majority on the committees. If the majority consisted of temperance reformers, shops would be speedily closed, and every possible temptation and opportunity would be offered to illicit trade. On the other hand, if the committee were slack, the licensing function would fall into the hands of a few interests vested in the trade, and the number of licenses granted would greatly increase. These contentions of the Government were recognised by the deputation to Lord Hardinge. But while admitting the necessity of preserving an official majority on most of the committees, and of centring the ultimate responsibility on the veto of a commissioner or collector, the deputation suggested that the committees should be made more representative of local opinion, and that wherever possible a non-official majority should be included.

For practical reasons it is not yet possible for the Government to recognise the principle of unrestricted local option. But they admit the possibility of its adoption at some future date. "There is no doubt, however, that the advice of the committees is generally salutary. The system, as already observed, is gaining ground steadily; the views of the committees command great and increasing attention; and we consider that it would be most imprudent to attempt to hasten unduly a movement which has developed, and is developing naturally, on healthy lines of its own."¹

One point in the statement of the Government's position is not quite clear. It is alleged that if the advisory committees fall under the influence of the temperance reformers, there would be a large decrease in the number of licenses issued, and a way would be laid open to illicit manufacture.² The consumption of alcohol produced in

¹ Correspondence regarding Indian Excise Administration, I. (1914), p. 5.

² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

*the illegal stills would not come under the notice of the Government, and the net result would be a mere decrease in recorded consumption. At the same time it is contended that the large reduction in the number of shops has not been followed by any appreciable diminution in the recorded consumption of liquor.*¹ But the contention cannot be made both ways. The Government must make up its mind in one direction or another. If the closing of liquor shops has not been followed by a decrease in recorded consumption their policy has not been carried far enough. The people who frequented the shops which have been closed, have transferred their custom to those which remain open, but this difficulty can be removed by a further reduction in the number of licenses issued.

Another disputed question is the means by which licenses are granted. Much can be said on both sides. The Government maintain that the interests of the community are best served by the auction system of vend. The deputations to Lord Crewe and Lord Hardinge petitioned for the introduction of a system of fixed fees. It is alleged that the auction system results frequently in the licenses falling to undesirable licensees, and that the prices bid are sometimes so high that a profit can only be obtained by forcing up the sales. Dr. Sarvadhikary's deputation gave instances of the evil effects of the auction system.² In Bengal there had been a large number of petitions for the reduction of fees, in order to allow the licensees to make a profit without resorting to dishonest methods for forcing up the sale of liquor. In Bihar and Orissa the collector advised a reduction of fees on the ground that the license could not be worked without heavy loss, unless the consumption were enormously increased. In the Central Provinces and Berar a few shops had to be re-sold

¹ Correspondence regarding Indian Excise Administration, I. (1914), p. 13. Compare § 5 with § 4.

² *Ibid.*, II. (1914), p. 218 ff.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

after the auctions, and 2,000 rupees had to be remitted. The competition of two Chinese factions in Burma caused an "intrinsically" unjustifiable increase in licensing fees.

The Excise officials admit that the question is controversial. The Excise Committee of 1905-6 recommended the adoption of fixed fees where the duty had reached the highest point possible, and where illicit trade had been reduced to a minimum. Lord Minto's Government decided in favour of the auction system on the ground that under a system of fixed fees the licenses would fall into the hands of vested interests, with the result that the tendency to an undue increase in consumption would not be checked. The Bombay Government have already introduced a system of fixed fees. They have not yet pronounced finally in its favour, but their local officers "are almost unanimous in its favour." The Chief Commissioners of the Central Provinces and of Assam admit the system of fixed fees as an ideal, but prefer the auction system while the present conditions prevail. The Government of the United Provinces are prepared to make an experiment in fixed fees if the Government of India desire it. In the same way the Chief Commissioner of Baluchistan is ready to make an experiment, though he does not recommend a change. On the other hand, the Punjab Government has deliberately rejected the system of fixed fees, after experiment, on the ground that it leads to "a great increase in recorded consumption."

On the divergent opinions expressed by the Local Governments, the Government of India is not prepared to urge any change in the auction system for the present. But it holds out the possibility of a re-consideration of the question when the condition of society has become more stable. At present the great fluctuations in material prosperity, due to good and bad harvests, make it difficult to test how far the rise and fall in consumption are due to different licensing systems, or how far they are due to

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

other causes. Moreover, the efficiency of the provincial excise establishments has not yet been placed on a footing sufficiently secure to make possible an accurate estimate of the conditions. The question is still regarded as undecided. The Bombay experiment is being closely watched, and the desirability of recommending similar experiments to other Local Governments is being considered.

Minor reforms are concerned with the location and sites of shops, the hours of sale, and the minimum ages at which liquor can be purchased. Government orders¹ are in existence urging licensing authorities to consult local opinion as far as practicable before locating a new shop. Railway authorities, Forest offices, and large employers of labour, such as Planting Associations, are to be consulted. Sites are to be avoided which are close to bathing ghats, market-places, schools, hospitals, places of worship, factories, bazaars, and in the interior of a village. The deputation to Lord Hardinge alleged that the instructions of the Government had been broken "in both letter and spirit in innumerable cases." The defence of the administrative officials states that it is not desirable that drink-shops should be placed in the side streets, away from main thoroughfares, for obvious reasons, but that on the main thoroughfares it is not possible to avoid proximity to the public institutions referred to in the objections.

The regulations for hours of sale differ all over the country. This is due to conditions which everywhere differ. But temperance reformers appear to have a good case when they urge that shops should not be opened in the morning before the hours of work, nor should they be opened at all on Sundays, or on religious festivals, while some curtailment of the evening hours is desirable. In support of these recommendations, the Bombay Excise

¹ Correspondence regarding Indian Excise Administration, II. (1914), pp. 186-9.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

Commissioner reports that the "early closing of shops has had a marked effect on consumption," and "the late opening, viz. 9.30 a.m., prevents mill-hands and labourers generally from drinking before going to work."

A recent deputation urged that the minimum age for the sale of liquor to children should be raised from fourteen to eighteen. The Government compromised by raising the age to sixteen, and this rule is now in vogue throughout India. But no adequate reason has been adduced as to why eighteen should not be made the limit. A child of sixteen is often very young, while a youth of eighteen is often not very old.

On all sides the difficulty of obtaining accurate statistics concerning the consumption of liquor is admitted. The excise administration has not yet been able to ascertain the actual output of alcohol throughout India. The matter becomes serious when the tendency to transfer the consumption of alcohol to that of drugs is remembered. The growing consumption of drugs threatens to neutralise the restrictions placed upon the undue consumption of alcohol. The excuse has been made in provincial Excise Reports that further restrictions upon the consumption of alcohol will increase the consumption in drugs. In Assam the opium habit is growing. In some districts of the Central Provinces and Berar, 40 per cent. of the total consumption of opium is due to the opium given to children under three years of age. In the same districts there is a tendency to substitute ganja for liquor. In Burma the use of cocaine and morphia is spreading, and in the United Provinces even menial servants, coolies and labourers, are being affected by the cocaine habit. Lord Hardinge has stated that the matter possesses the attention of the Government. It is regarded with the gravest anxiety. More stringent legislation has been introduced. But the most effective control should be exerted in the countries where the drugs are produced and sold. The Govern-

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY

ment of India are co-operating with other governments in an endeavour to obtain international control over the production and sale of opium. The Government of India has no revenue interest in the traffic in cocaine.

It will be observed that attempts to check the traffic in alcohol in India are threatened with counteraction by a danger which is the converse of that threatening similar efforts in China. In China the repression of the opium traffic has been followed by an increase in the consumption of alcohol.¹ In India the restriction of the liquor traffic has been accompanied by a rise in the consumption of opium and other drugs. *Fortunately, the Government of India is alive to the danger, while an effort is being made to draw the attention of the Chinese authorities to the growing drink traffic.*²

¹ Colonial Annual Report for Wei-hai-wei for 1910, p. 9; ditto for 1911, p. 11 (quoted by Native Races Committee), 26th Annual Report, p. 46; and cf. Chapter XV.

² Native Races Committee, 26th Annual Report, p. 47.

CHAPTER X

THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC IN CEYLON

THE liquor question in Ceylon has some resemblance to that in India. But there is a considerable difference. On the one hand it is also a problem of administration rather than of trade. The alcohol distributed and consumed is native liquor. There is the same temptation offered to the Government by the fruitfulness of the traffic to the revenue. There is a similar demand for reform on the part of large sections of the people. On the other hand, the liquor trade in Ceylon is at a more backward stage so far as administrative control is concerned. The principle of local option is more grudgingly admitted. Advisory committees are only just being introduced. The inclination of the Government towards the central distillery system under direct Government control is more markedly pronounced.

Perhaps the most striking difference in the attitude of the Government lies in the sudden change of policy instituted in 1912. Up to that date the consumption of liquor had been controlled by continually reducing the number of drink-shops. In 1870 there were about 1,500 licenses in Ceylon. By the end of 1911 they had been reduced to 850. In the following year they were increased to 2,000.¹ The explanation offered by the Government was to the effect that, by separating the arrack and toddy licenses under the Ordinance of 1912, the number of drink shops was only numerically increased. Moreover, the issue of fresh licenses was desirable in order to check illicit trade.

¹ Native Races Committee, 26th Annual Report, p. 10.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

The large reductions in the prices paid for licenses after re-sales, within a few months of the issue of licenses, proves that the number issued is far in excess of the requirements of the people, or even of the liquor trade. The *Ceylon Government Gazette* for August 30, 1912, advertised eighty-seven licenses for re-sale. In the previous May eight licenses were issued in the Western Province of Udagaha North, for Rs. 1,590. But in January 1913 these licenses were re-sold, for the remaining five months of the licensing year, for Rs. 50. In Udagaha South eight licenses, and in Kottawa four licenses, were re-sold at the same reduced rate.¹

The separation of the arrack and toddy licenses, and the issue of an increased number of licenses were the chief recommendations which had been made by a Commission of two appointed to inquire into the Ceylon excise administration. The Commissioners also advised the taxation of sweet or unfermented toddy, and the establishment of Government distilleries for the manufacture of arrack. In addition, any resort to the consultation of local opinion before a drink-shop could be opened was discouraged.

The proposals aroused opposition all over Ceylon. Representatives of different interests, commercial, social, religious, both Christian and Buddhist, at once took up the matter.² One section of the Ceylonese press devoted its leading columns to a condemnation of the policy.³ In this country the United Races and Liquor Traffic Committees, sent a deputation, headed by Sir Herbert Roberts,⁴ to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and conducted a long correspondence with the Colonial Office.

In their memorial the Committee pointed out that serious trouble had arisen from the lack of proper control

¹ Native Races Committee, 26th Annual Report, pp. 11-12, 32, 37; 27th Annual Report, p. 23.

² *Ibid.*, 25th Annual Report, p. 72.

³ The *Ceylon Morning Leader* and the *Observer*.

⁴ July 22, 1912.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

of the liquor traffic : " Some planters report that as many as 70 per cent. of their labourers sometimes fail to turn up on Monday morning owing to the week-end debauch." ¹

So far from checking the sale of liquor the separation of arrack and toddy licenses, and the increased number of licenses gave greater facilities for consumption. The increase in competition would be followed by illegal methods of sale. The excise officials would find it more difficult to control 2,000 than 900 houses. A better method was to make the control more effective, and to decrease the number of drink-shops. Reference was made to the disastrous effects of the Act of 1830 by means of which beer-houses were established in this country. An irregular and uncertain supply was replaced by one which is regular and certain. Moreover, the increased number of drinking-shops provides no guarantee that illicit sales will not grow up around them as around the old taverns. The motive will be the stronger because competition will be keener.

In justice to the policy of the Government it is only fair to say that in country areas there is a strong probability that the presence of more than one tavern in the same neighbourhood may reduce the actual drinking in the locality. If the custom among Ceylonese toppers at all resembles that in an English village, the evils attendant upon excessive drinking will be reduced because the number of visitors to be " treated " in any one house will be smaller, while the company may be so small, and therefore so unsociable, that a man will not be induced to stay. But where there is only one house, a company of considerable proportion is generally present. On the other hand, in urban centres there can be no doubt that the increase in the number of houses does increase the temptation to drink, and even in the country, illicit sales through competition may neutralise any benefit derived from the number of houses.

¹ Native Races Committee, 26th Annual Report, p. 13 ff.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

The memorial went on to make the damaging allegation that before the new Ordinance had become law some 1,600 new toddy licenses were put up to auction, and of this number some 1,200 to 1,300 were sold at once.¹ Presumably in order to put this action on a legal footing, the Government amended the Act in Committee, by inserting a clause to the effect that nothing in the new Ordinance should affect any license issued under an old Ordinance now repealed by the Bill.

The number of licenses to be issued was left to the discretion of the revenue officer. The significance of this arrangement has already been emphasised in dealing with the question in India. The deputation pointed out that the two Commissioners had definitely declared against the principle of local option. Against this opinion they urged that a suggestion made by the Select Committee of the Legislative Council of Ceylon should be incorporated, into the Bill. The Select Committee proposed, "That all recognised public bodies, such as Municipal Councils, Local Boards, Planters' and other Associations, should be consulted." The memorial recommended, in addition, that advisory committees, as in vogue in Madras, should be introduced.

The auction system, as in India, encourages the creation of vested interests in the locality. The object of the Government in separating the arrack and toddy licenses was to remove the sale of toddy from the control of the arrack renters. The memorial pointed out that the auction system nullifies this result. The arrack renters, have already, through their nominees, secured a large number of the new toddy licenses. The auction system encourages illicit stimulation of the sales. This had happened under the old arrack licenses, and there is no guarantee that the new toddy licenses will not be used in the same way, especially if they are under the control of

¹ Native Races Committee, 26th Annual Report, p. 15.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

arrack renters. Moreover, by this system of vend it is possible for people of unsatisfactory character to obtain a license, especially if the arrack-renters are behind them. Whereas if the license is only issued to meet public necessity and after due inquiry in the locality, the licensee could be called upon to give a guarantee for good behaviour.

In objecting to the proposal to establish Government distilleries, the memorial points out that the people will receive the impression that the Government is vitally connected with the liquor traffic, any opposition to the traffic will be regarded as opposition to the Government. As in India, the liquor trade will appear to have the sanction and approval of the Government, and will become more seductive to the population of a nation which has a great veneration for Government.

This impression was emphasised by the action of the Ceylon Government, which issued the following regulation on May 2, 1913.

(1) "Any public servant, who wishes to join a Temperance or a Total Abstinence Society, must first obtain the permission of the head of his Department.

(2) "If permission is accorded, it will be on the express condition that the officer takes no part in the management of the society, and that he does not attend public meetings organised by the society.

(3) "Permission to join such societies should not be given to administrative officers such as headmen." ¹

On June 3, 1913, questions were asked in the House of Commons by Sir Herbert Roberts, and Mr. Charles H. Roberts concerning the regulation. The Secretary of State for the Colonies replied that he was awaiting the arrival of a mail from India. On June 11 the Secretary

¹ Native Races Committee, 27th Annual Report, p. 22.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

of the Native Races Committee received a cablegram from Ceylon to the effect that the order had been withdrawn. This was confirmed by a letter from the Secretary of State for the Colonies on June 16.

The most obnoxious feature in the proceeding was the fact that the "headmen" of the villages are generally Buddhists or Muhammadans, whose religion teaches temperance. These men were to be prevented from assisting a cause which their religious teaching not merely supported, but enjoined.

The deputation of July 22, 1912, was received with sympathy by the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Harcourt). Its influence is clearly traceable in a letter sent from the Colonial Office to the Governor of Ceylon on July 26, 1912.¹ Mr. Harcourt urged that a larger measure of local option should be introduced than that provided by the new Ordinance. Licensing boards should be established in each province, or, if possible, in each district, and these should guide the Government Agent, or other licensing officer in the issue of licenses. The board should include members of municipalities, local boards, village committees, and other recognised bodies, together with some of the unofficial police magistrates. While recognising that the increase in the number of licenses was due partly to the separation of toddy from arrack licenses, and partly to the check placed upon illegal sales, Mr. Harcourt was not able to regard without disquietude of mind the greatly increased total of the licenses actually issued. The suggestion to supply arrack from Government distilleries on a "contract supply system," should be regarded merely as a temporary expedient. Finally the Secretary of State was of the opinion that the auction system defeated the object of the Government, which was to reduce consumption.

To this letter the Ceylon Government replied in un-

¹ Native Races Committee, 26th Annual Report, p. 23.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

favourable terms on August 22, 1912.¹ But in their Twenty-sixth Annual Report, issued in May 1913, the Native Races Committee were able to say that five of the original propositions of the Excise Ordinance of 1912 had been dropped. Mr. Harcourt's letter had provided for local option, though in the form of advisory boards rather than licensing committees. It had also sounded the knell of the proposed central distilleries. Public opinion in Ceylon had disposed of the suggestion to tax sweet or unfermented toddy. There only remained the two questions of the separation of the toddy from the arrack licenses, and the issue of an unwarrantably high number of licenses.

But the Native Races Committee were premature in the conclusions they drew from the correspondence of the Colonial Office with the Ceylon Government. There was nothing to suggest that Mr. Harcourt intended to press his views upon the Government of Ceylon. Indeed, his concession on October 25, 1912,² to the effect that the boards should possess merely advisory powers, proved that the letter of July 26 contained suggestions rather than recommendations. Anyhow, in May 1914 the Native Races Committee had to confess that only the proposal to tax sweet toddy had been dropped completely.³

At the same time the other two gains have not been entirely rescinded. Advisory boards have been created. By September 30, 1914, some forty boards were in existence,⁴ while the statement made by an Assistant Excise Commissioner, and published in the Ceylon *Morning Leader* of November 14, 1913, to the effect that in time the Government would have one distillery to every supply area, has, so far, only resulted in the creation of two central distilleries.⁵ These distilleries have been built and

¹ Native Races Committee, 26th Annual Report, p. 25.

² *Ibid.* ³ *Ibid.*, 27th Annual Report, p. 19.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 28th Annual Report, p. 15. ⁵ *Abkari* (July 1915), p. 84.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

equipped by the Government, who have handed them over to contractors or licensees. But they are regarded only as experimental concerns. Thus, on this point, the Ceylon Government appear to be moving very carefully and tentatively.

In the matter of the composition of the advisory boards, the Native Races Committee appear to be on firmer ground. If a strong case can be made for the recognition of the principle of local option in India, where the population is very composite, where interest and sentiment are often in conflict, that case becomes much stronger in Ceylon where the population is much more homogeneous. In a population of 4,000,000 there are 2,500,000 Buddhists, who object almost *en masse* to the new Excise Ordinance on religious grounds. The attitude of the majority of the Muhammadans and Hindus is scarcely less strong. A better case in favour of allowing local option to express itself could not be easily found. This objection is supported by a large section of the European community, and especially by the planters.

Alarm among the people of Ceylon has been created by the rapid increase in the consumption of arrack. In four years the consumption has risen by 50 per cent.¹ This enormous increase cannot be entirely accounted for by the repression of illicit sales. It is an established fact that in some districts the license-holders have been known to give away free drinks in order to counteract the influence of temperance reform, when a falling off in the sales has appeared. The number of women and children, who attend the new toddy shops, is increasing. In some places girls as young as thirteen years of age have been engaged to sell toddy.² Furthermore, the Native Races Committee have made out a strong case tending to prove that at least one tavern has been established without due notice

¹ Native Races Committee, 28th Annual Report, p. 10.

² *Ibid.*, 27th Annual Report, p. 23.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

being given; in another place no consideration was given to the practically unanimous opinion of the people living in the locality; and in two other cases the taverns had been established close to a place of worship and a school, in contravention of the regulations. Even if the Government remained technically within their rights in issuing the licenses in these particular cases, the fact remains that a local majority, or interests which were especially liable to be ill-affected by the taverns, were over-ridden.¹

A great step towards placing the control of the liquor traffic within the hands of the local community has been made by the creation of the advisory boards. But the boards do not yet possess the power to veto the action of the Government Agent, and licenses have sometimes been issued against the opinion of the board. Moreover, their composition has not been satisfactorily arranged. Of the forty boards existing at September 30, 1914, thirty-two were in the Sinhalese district, where the Buddhists are in a large majority. On twenty-four of these boards there were no Buddhists at all. For the year 1914-15 there were forty-three boards with 195 members. Of these, eighteen were Buddhists, twelve of whom were nominated by the Government, and only six were unofficial members. It is not unnatural that the Buddhist community feels that it has been deliberately excluded from proper representation.² It has been suggested that a temporary remedy might be supplied by allowing the 500 village committees (local administrative bodies) to nominate members to the advisory boards. Such permission would be very welcome in the villages where, indeed, the opposition to taverns is most strong.

Two facts stand out clearly in the liquor question in

¹ Native Races Committee, 27th Annual Report, pp. 31-42.

² *Ibid.*, 28th Annual Report, p. 15.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

India and Ceylon. Firstly, the people of India, and especially the people of Ceylon, desire some form of local option. Secondly, the Government gives apparent encouragement to the trade by allowing the control of the licenses to remain in the hands of revenue officials, and by pursuing a tendency to introduce Government distilleries. Here is a conflict of opinion between the people and the Government—not on a point concerning taxation or the franchise, the administration of justice or any of the ordinary functions of governments, but upon a moral question, in which the interests involved are purely commercial.¹ The utmost the Government can say in defence of its policy is to allege that its methods have the same motive as that which lies behind the popular agitation. But while the reformers can produce figures, showing an increase in consumption so great as that which appears in the recent history of the liquor traffic in Ceylon, the people have a right to demand that their policy shall be given a trial. It has not been proved that local option, together with a more efficient control over the manufacture and distribution of liquor by excise officials, would not produce results better than those at present obtained by the Government policy. Moreover, in a matter which so closely concerns the private and moral life of the people, their opinion should be allowed more weight than would be possible in the case of a purely administrative question. We profess to govern India and Ceylon on behalf of the native races, by methods acceptable to Oriental notions of government. But in a matter where the prestige of the administrators is not threatened—save by a continued

¹ This does not contradict what has already been said as to the general form of the liquor trade in India and Ceylon. The difficulty has not arisen from commercial relations with Great Britain. There is no large import of liquor from this country. But for the people of India and Ceylon it is a commercial question, especially for the vested interests concerned with its manufacture.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

refusal to listen to the popular wish—and where the readiness of the Government to brush aside trading interests has been proved by the suppression of the opium traffic, it is strange that more attention is not paid to the demands of the people.

The question is a moral one. It may be alleged with some force that governments are concerned only with political and legal matters, that is, with the maintenance of order, and the repression of crime. Questions affecting private morality, which do not involve offences against the community, may be considered to lie beyond the scope of government. But by its vigorous attitude towards the opium traffic the Government of India have assumed responsibility in moral matters, and have shown a remarkable capacity to deal with them. But on merely political grounds the liquor traffic demands attention. If the growing consumption of alcohol in India and Ceylon has not yet resulted in any widespread breach of the laws of society, it threatens to become troublesome at no very distant date. The attitude of the administration in Africa is illuminating when compared with the attitude of the Government of India. A prohibitive policy is being introduced over the greater part of the continent, without any consultation of native opinion, which would not be likely to support the Government if consulted. But in India, where a majority of the native races are not hostile to restrictive measures, and where the special conditions do not necessitate total prohibition, the milder policy of local option, which has the support of the people, is refused. So far as the wishes of the people of India and Ceylon are concerned, the problem presents far less difficulty to the Government than in Africa, and yet a more provocative, though ostensibly less unpopular, policy is being pursued.

The position of Christianity in relation to the liquor traffic in India and Ceylon is very invidious. The Churches

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

find themselves supported by the adherents of the native religions against a Government which is nominally Christian. As a matter of course the Governments of India and Ceylon cannot interfere with questions of a religious nature, and they have faithfully maintained an attitude of neutrality. But where the adherents of all religions unite in desiring a modification or change of the Government policy, the religious difficulty disappears, and the hands of the administration are untied. Buddhist and Hindu and Muhammadan unite with the Christian in urging upon the Government that a change in the excise policy is desirable. The columns of *Abkari*, the journal of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association,¹ are filled with resolutions of native temperance societies, praying the representatives of a Christian nation to remove from their midst the evils threatened by the liquor traffic. The co-operation of the great religions of the world on this point proves that the problem is not merely a matter of religion. In consequence the hands of the Government are even less fettered than if they had united upon a matter of religious import solely.

Consequently, Christianity must approach the problem from a moral standpoint. It need not be approached from a religious point of view. Much good can be done by faithfully propagating the great Christian doctrines, which tend towards sobriety and self-restraint in the converts. But the preaching of temperance must not be made a dogmatic propaganda. There must be no attempt to withhold membership of any Christian body from a native because he declines to become a total abstainer, or to join a temperance society. Better results will follow from the wiser policy of spreading temperance tenets independently of religious teaching. The influence of dogmatic Christianity is bound to make itself felt through the example of

¹ Secretary: Mr. F. Grubb, "Arkbrook," Home Park Road, Wimbledon, S.W.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

temperance exponents, without any direct allusion to it upon temperance platforms.

Every missionary enterprise should have its temperance society. Membership of the temperance society should not be limited to the baptized members of the Church behind it. In a great moral question of this character, it should be possible to affiliate native members without asking them to assent to any creed. Through other channels, but sometimes, also, from the temperance society, new Church members would be forthcoming. The temperance society should form a vital point of contact with native ethical opinion.

But it would be something more. It would become the meeting ground of the great religions of the world. The centralising and unifying effects of a great moral problem have already been seen vividly in this country. A few years ago the Licensing Bill united on the same platform the leaders of two great religious bodies, who were at the same time strenuously opposing each other on the Education question. So, too, in India, the moral character of the Temperance question is linking up religions even more widely separated than Anglicans and Baptists in England. If Christianity is asked to concede a point by taking care that temperance reform and Christian dogmatics are kept separate in pulpit and on platform, it is offered a full compensation in the broader sympathy which the drawing together of the great religions, on a moral question, promises to all parties, when they meet to discuss matters of a religious character.

The opportunity presented to the Church in India by the need for temperance reform, is rendered smaller by the attitude of the Government, but greater by the aspirations of the people, than the opportunity open to the Church in Africa. Except in West Africa, and one or two other regions, the policy of total prohibition considerably strengthens the hand of Christian missionaries when they

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

deal with the question of native liquors. On the other hand, the backward mental condition of the African native, and the absence of any widespread desire for temperance among the native races, make the work of the Christian reformer difficult. In India—and in Ceylon especially—Christian enterprise is discredited by the refusal on the part of the Government to adopt a policy of local option. But the readiness with which the Indian mind receives new ideas, and the unmistakable desire for temperance reform expressed by the Indian peoples, give the missionary an opening unknown to him in Africa.

In the matter of bringing pressure to bear upon the Government in the interests of reform, it will be wise if the different missionary bodies, and the Church at home, make way for the approach of some one organisation, which is not directly concerned with the propaganda work of Christian missions. The invaluable assistance rendered by the Native Races Committee, in bringing the claims of temperance reform in Africa before the notice of authorities in official quarters, has already been recorded. The Native Races Committee are also collecting evidence in Ceylon, and have on more than one occasion memorialised the Foreign Office as to conditions there. The problem in India has been taken up by the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association. Under the auspices of that body, deputations have been sent to the Secretary of State for India, and questions have been asked repeatedly in the House of Commons. The results of the work of these two organisations have already been made apparent. But they require more support, not only in the matter of funds, and in the recognition of public men, who, while concerned with the moral issues, are not interested in the religious questions involved; but also from the great missionary societies of all sections of the Church. It is not implied that support is not given, but it is needed much more whole-heartedly; and especially is it desirable that individual supporters

AFRICA AND THE EAST

of the missionary societies, as distinct from the officials, should render greater help to these organisations than is perhaps always possible for the missionary societies acting in an official capacity.

What has been said regarding the capacity and qualifications of the Native Races Committee to conduct negotiations with the Government applies equally well to the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association. The difficult work of collecting evidence in India, of presenting the case before the India Office, of maintaining interest in the House of Commons, is not within the scope of a missionary society. It falls more properly to a body which includes among its members ex-officials of the Indian administration and members of the House of Commons, who are more likely to obtain a fair grasp of the problem on both sides, than is possible for the officials of a missionary society whose work may often be to supply evidence but not to correlate and present it.

It has already been pointed out that Christian teaching on temperance does not explicitly enforce prohibition, but that Christian practice has followed a policy of expediency. This has arisen from the necessity of dealing with every case on its merits. The suggestions made to meet the contingencies of the liquor traffic in Africa and India illustrate the wisdom of Christian teaching and practice. In Africa the native mind is so backward that the native races should be treated like children. Christianity urges prohibition in their case. But in India and Ceylon the conditions differ, and the attitude of Christianity is different. In the first place, there is very little importation of European liquor for native consumption. So that the elder brother cannot be accused of putting dangerous meats in the way of the younger brother. The alcohol consumed by the people of India is manufactured in India. Indian materials are used, and Indian methods are largely adopted. Big native interests of long standing condition are involved.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY

Any attempt to prohibit manufacture would entail great injustice to large numbers of people. But the injury would not be merely material. The native of India is much more highly developed in moral and intellectual attributes than the native of Africa. We may, therefore, assume that he is more capable of taking care of himself. Any sudden and revolutionary change would thus carry with it an affront to his moral and rational qualities, which would offend his *amour propre* more severely than the material loss entailed. Consequently, Christian feeling suggests a policy not of prohibition, but of control—control over the amount manufactured, but more especially over the distribution and consumption of alcohol.

In India and Ceylon the measure of our responsibility in the liquor traffic is the extent of our hegemony over the native races. The distribution and sale of liquor are parts of administrative business. The administration is under the control of the British Government, and although the Government must remain strictly neutral in all matters concerning religion, it cannot remain inactive where the question is a moral one. At least it is the duty of the Government to respect native feeling by allowing to it some definite measure of local option.

Again, while avoiding rash attempts to coerce Indian opinion by clamouring for the total suppression of the liquor trade, it is the duty of Christian organisations to bring the question of temperance reform constantly before the Government, and to strengthen, so far as possible, the efforts of native reformers to obtain a recognition of the principle of local option.

In both cases, the Government and temperance reformers, by co-operating to make local option a practicable policy, either by means of advisory boards or licensing committees, or by some other expedient, can fulfil their Christian obligation without outraging the religious susceptibilities of the native peoples.

CHAPTER XI

INDIA : SELF-GOVERNMENT

BETWEEN the years 1905 and 1911 India was disturbed by a number of political crimes. The attention of the Government was compelled towards what has become known as "Indian unrest." For many years there had been a movement of the Indian peoples towards self-expression. At first vague and undecided, in its later stages the movement became definite, but petulant and peevish. This was because the leaders, who were ex-National Congressmen, gradually realised that they were barred on all sides, so far as the present generation is concerned, from the fulfilment of their ambitions. On the one hand the autocratic system of the British Government offered an impassable barrier to their aspirations towards self-government, while, on the other hand, the social and religious cleavage among the Indian communities hung like a dead weight from behind on their progress. A solid nationalist party was impossible. With the impatience of all youthful movements, the mutterings and complaints of the Congress broke forth into petulant, but murderous attacks upon the officers of the Government, perpetrated by young men who were under the influence of older political agitators.

The nature of Indian unrest has been too often analysed during the last decade to necessitate any further discussion now. It is sufficient to say that the free spirit of the West had entered into a section of the Eastern peoples in India, and had stirred them up to aspire after free institutions. Besides, the first phase of unrest in India has

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

already been closed. It is no longer a present-day problem. Three causes operated to bring it to a conclusion. Firstly, the repressive measures unwillingly drawn forth from Lord Minto's Government strengthened the hands of the long-suffering Provincial Governments in dealing with the outward expressions of unrest. The Indian Explosive Substances Act (1908), and the Press Acts (1908 and 1910), enabled the Provincial Governments to repress crime.¹ For some time the executive officers and their supporters advocated a stronger policy in the suppression of violence. Attention was drawn to the fact that the natives of India interpreted the generous attitude of a liberal policy to weakness and fear. Many older men among the Indian community gave their vote in support of vigorous action, and although the attitude of the Government, when these Acts were passed, did not make the British Administration any more popular among the progressives, it certainly checked the violent expression of political ambition.

A bolder, but a more popular, step was taken when Lord Morley introduced a measure of radical reform by passing the Indian Councils Act in 1909. The country was still moving with discontent. There was a danger that the action of the Government might be interpreted as a concession wrung from a weak and timid administration by the strong heads of the nationalist party. But the result has justified the boldness of the Government. The reforms carry the people of India a step forward towards representative government. The Viceroy's Council and the Provincial Councils have been enlarged by the inclusion of non-official members, elected by certain specially qualified bodies. In many of the Provincial Councils the non-official element forms a majority, though for obvious reasons this was not possible in the Viceroy's Council. Not only was the reform a concession to the democratic aspirations of the native peoples, by allowing them a

¹ Sir A. Fraser, *Nineteenth Century* (Oct. 1910).

AFRICA AND THE EAST

large voice in the election of advisers to the Government on matters of settled policy, it also created a wider opening for the expression of Indian opinion in the presence of the chief executive officers of the central and provincial governments, and gave opportunity for free discussion of topics not usually introduced on the councils.¹ In addition, the reform was a measure of decentralisation, foreshadowing the future character of political development towards self-government.

Thirdly, came the less practical, but still more effective, influence of the royal visit, and the Coronation Durbar of 1911. The measures of repression and reform had appealed only to a limited section of the community. The Delhi Durbar stirred the sentiments of all the peoples of India. In the vast throng before the royal pavilion on the plains of Delhi were representatives from every province of India—simple, unlettered folk, as well as country land-owners and powerful rajahs. These carried back to the distant rural areas feelings stirred to the strongest sentiments of loyalty, by the lavish spectacular display which they had witnessed, and poured them forth round every village well, removing for long any seeds of disloyalty, if they had already been sown, or implanting in the minds of the people an antidote to the appearance of such tendencies. The native of India is vulnerable on two sides of his nature. He is readily susceptible to an appeal made to his religion and to his sentiments. It is not possible to dazzle the religious nature of all the Indian peoples by one great political or diplomatic act. There are too many jarring elements to be reconciled. But before the influence of the sentimental display of imperial power they became one nation. Consequently, the effects of the royal visit in dispelling unrest were immediate and complete. But how long can a sentimental influence remain effective? That it has been maintained

¹ Ameer Ali, *Nineteenth Century* (March 1910).

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

for four years is partly due to the practical concessions introduced in the form of royal favours. The revocation of the partition of Bengal satisfied Indian feeling upon a very sore point, while the face of the Government of India was saved. Lord Morley had said that the partition was irrevocable. But in the form of a Coronation concession, it was passed without sacrificing the dignity of the Government. The release of political offenders, and the promise of large funds for educational purposes, gave further practical ground for the kindling feelings of the Indian community.

But already the effects of the royal visit are wearing off. Even the practical concessions are being cheaply appraised, since it has been realised that in the matter of the reunion of Bengal the Government have scored a diplomatic success. When Bengal was reunited, the provinces of Bihar, Orissa and Assam were shorn off, and created into two new provinces. The result has been to leave the Hindu population of Bengal outnumbered by the Muhammadan community,¹ while the removal of the capital to Delhi has aroused the jealousy and resentment of the Bengalis because the centre of Government is no longer at Calcutta, and of the whole Hindu community, because Delhi was the centre of the great Moguls who drove the older Hindu dynasty from the imperial throne.

Moreover, events abroad have conspired in recent years to rouse other sections of the people to renewed opposition to British rule. The unfortunate attitude of the South African Government, in the matter of ex-indentured labour, has alienated Hindu and Muhammadan alike,² though the sympathetic action of Lord Hardinge's Government, in forbidding all future emigration of indentured labour to South Africa relieved that particular tension. But the bad impression reached to the village centres of India, and

¹ Sir Bamfylde Fuller, *Nineteenth Century* (Sept. 1912).

² The Aga Khan, *Edinburgh Review* (Jan. 1914).

AFRICA AND THE EAST

in some measure formed a more sore point than the political grievances of the educated sections of the people. The uncertain status of Indians in British East Africa and Zanzibar has been a cause of further friction.¹

The unsympathetic attitude of the British Government towards Turkey during the Balkan War has agitated the Muhammadans of Northern India,² while the Turkish problem created by the present war is bound to produce a crop of difficult questions for the Government of India in their relations with the Muhammadans of India. Not only so, there are signs that the magnificent loyalty displayed by the rajahs, and by all ranks of the Indian army is not completely shared by other sections of the community. There has been a recrudescence of anti-British feeling, calling for police intervention in certain parts of Bengal. Political agitators show signs of renewed activity. This may be solely the result of the exploits of the *Emden*, and the influence of German agents, but it is not altogether unconnected with the slow progress of the allied campaigns on the western front. One fact is clear: Indian unrest has entered upon another phase, dating from the discontent arising from the realisation of the effects of the reunion of Bengal.

On the surface, therefore, the outlook is not promising. The country seems to be slowly drifting back towards the condition which called forth the repressive legislation of 1908-10. But upon closer examination the imperial enthusiasm manifested by the rajahs and the army is found to be more truly representative of Indian feeling than the uncertain attitude of the lawyers and students of the large towns. Throughout the whole period of unrest the ruling chiefs of the native states and the hereditary magnates of the British states have maintained consistent loyalty to the British administration. They realise that the maintenance of the principle of autocracy is wrapt up

¹ The Aga Khan, *Edinburgh Review* (Jan. 1914).

² *Ibid.*

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

with the continuance of British domination. Among the villages, the South African question may have created a stir, which is mainly sentimental, but it will soon be forgotten, since the relatives of village people in India will be no longer subject to the repressive legislation of the South African Parliament. The agricultural community, as a body, has been uninfluenced by the violent propaganda of the educated classes. The British administration has become more popular by reason of the effective measures adopted in checking the ravages of famine and plague. Thus the unrest is narrowed down to the educated classes, which only form one per cent. of the population; and among these people the trouble exists only in the minds of the university and professional men.

Superficially, it looks as though education were at fault, and much labour has been expended in attempting to prove that western education has been the main factor in creating Indian unrest. No doubt the diagnosis is partly correct, but some of the inferences drawn from it are incorrect. Western education has undoubtedly been responsible for the awakening of democratic aspirations in India, but sooner or later, by reason of the contact of the East with the West, these aspirations were bound to appear. If the British Government had not adopted a definite educational policy upon western lines, Indians would still have received the democratic impulse by virtue of mere contact with western people, and individuals would have sought education abroad, much as the Chinese have scattered to other lands under the influence of contact with western peoples in their own country. The Chinese revolution was mainly hatched abroad.

Education in some form was inevitable. We may be justified in criticising the methods employed by the Government, and these may have conduced to make unrest more acute, but just because education was inevitable we cannot condemn it utterly if unrest has followed. If any con-

AFRICA AND THE EAST

demnation is to be fulminated, it must be hurled against the whole story of the British occupation—against the fact of western men in India. Englishmen could no more expect to dwell and trade, much less to govern in India, without the demand for western education arising among the native peoples, than they could expect to grant the Parliamentary franchise to the British working classes in 1867 without having to face the necessity of conceding popular education in 1870. The concession of political rights is always followed by the demand for training to use those rights. Democracy is an innate impulse in the human breast, which compels a concession when a certain stage of civilisation and social evolution has been reached. But the exercise and development of those rights depend upon education, which must be conceded as inevitably as the rights themselves.

The effect of the British administration in India has been to bring within the purview of the Indian peoples democratic institutions. The East has been brought in contact with western political thought and methods. The natural result has followed that the peoples of India, or at least a section of them, are now demanding education to train them in western methods, in order to make possible the concession of the rights themselves.

It may be objected that the conditions in England in 1867, and those in India to-day, are exactly reversed—that in England education followed upon the grant of the franchise, whereas in India the award of the franchise must follow upon education. But the practical fact remains that the rights conceded to the British working classes in 1867 were valueless for democratic progress until the masses became educated. For all practical purposes, provided the Education Act of 1870 had been passed, the Franchise Bill of 1867 might have been postponed till much later. The important point was the awakening of the masses to democratic ambitions, an awakening caused by the influ-

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

ence of Parliamentary government in their midst, but of little practical value until popular education had been in vogue for a generation.¹

So in India we have the western way of doing things, and the western way of looking at things, calling forth the democratic instinct in the Indian peoples, and making education a necessity to the fulfilment of ideals awakened by contact with the West. Moreover, we have to add the fact that in the village communities of India the ground was ready for the seeds of democratic government to be sown, and these two factors alone—contact with the West, and self-governing village communities at home—were sufficiently capable of producing the demand for education without the deliberate educational policy of the Government. It has been the recognition on the part of the Government of India of the self-governing communities of village life which constitutes the special character of the second phase of Indian unrest. The eyes of Indian reformers are now directed not so much to a national congress, as to the development of the ancient local machinery, by means of decentralisation. We shall revert to this matter later.

It is rather against the methods employed in the education introduced by the Government of India that the charge must be levelled. Here we are upon more solid ground. The sort of education given to the last two generations of Indians has made them more acutely conscious of their country's political, economic, and social needs, without, until quite recently, suggesting the remedy. That is partly true of the condition of the British democracy, with the difference that political rights have already been

¹ Of course, it was not possible to satisfy the sentiment of the British democracy in 1867 by anything save the grant of the franchise, but the fact remains that not until 1906 did it make its influence felt in the House, and that was the result rather of popular education than close acquaintance with the methods of democratic political machinery.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

granted. Education has made it aware of its deficiencies, but, so far, has only produced the national strike as the instrument of progress, while the costly achievements promised by the national strike are threatened by the reactionary tendency of syndicalism. So in India the deficient character of education has been partly responsible for the propaganda of pistol and bomb and dacoity.

Education in India has been too literary and forensic. It has not been sufficiently scientific and technical.¹ The Indian student has been taught political theory and the process of the law courts. He has not been taught the laws of political economy and commercial business, much less engineering, and all the allied technical arts. Even in his political theory he has failed to perceive that not by grafting alien political institutions upon the social life of the people can democratic progress be started and maintained, but by revising indigenous political instincts, which are democratic in every civilised community, and by fusing the new ideas into them. By starting with the national congress he is commencing at the wrong end.² The true starting-point is the village "panchayat."³

Again, religion has been neglected in the educational policy of the Government of India. In an intensely religious country like India this is a most serious defect, and has been followed by serious, but, indeed, inevitable results. Religion and morality are closely related. The old moral restraints have been thrown aside together with the ancient religious tenets. The resultant dynamic has been a political propaganda of extreme violence, bereft of all sense of moral obligation and responsibility.

But, because of these defects of method, the process of education is not to be condemned. In other words,

¹ Sir Bamfylde Fuller, *Nineteenth Century* (Sept. 1912), and Sir H. T. Prinsep, *Nineteenth Century* (Dec. 1913).

² Sir Alexander Fraser, *Among Indian Rajahs and Ryots* (1912), p. 292.

³ Council of village elders.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

Indian unrest cannot fairly be laid at the doors of education, though it may be partly attributed to a bad form of education.

On the other hand, the single fact that the impulse towards self-government, aroused by contact with the West, has been quickened by education among an influential section of the Indian community, is net gain, and must be placed over against the bad results arising from faulty educational policy and methods. Education has been the means of transforming the political aspirations of the reformers into political ambitions, and if they have attempted to realise these ambitions by a propaganda of violence, there are signs already that a saner and more stable policy will shortly be pursued.¹ The Swadeshi movement is indeed characterised at present by the same petulance and extravagance as the political programme, but the mere fact that attention is being diverted from politics to commerce and industry indicates that the point of view of Indian reformers is shifting to a more practicable field of action. The encouragement of native commerce and industry is bound to disseminate the sense of national responsibility over a wider area, and will open up larger sections of the people to the influence of education, while it must produce a chastening effect upon the agitators themselves.

Not only so, but the attention of reformers will be drawn increasingly towards the condition and capabilities of the rural centres. The Government have already given a lead which educated Indians will not be slow in following. The policy of the reformers will enter upon a new phase, if it has not done so already. At any rate, we shall expect to see them giving a renewed recognition to village institutions. Here lies the real problem of the future. Indian unrest has been hitherto inspired by the desire to gain greater influence upon the viceregal and provincial Councils.

¹ Saint Nihal Singh, *Fortnightly Review* (March 1913).

AFRICA AND THE EAST

In future it will tend to centre round the creation of national ambitions in rural areas. The educated classes are awakening to the real nature of the problem. They have been disposed to regard the British administration as the chief hindrance to progress along democratic lines. They now begin to realise that the principle obstacle lies in the condition of the masses, who are not yet fit for self-governing institutions, and that no large measures of reform will be salutary until education has penetrated to the villages.

Government and reformers alike have awakened to the fact that in the ancient village institutions of India a foundation is present upon which to build up the superstructure of self-government. The hopelessness which has hung over the efforts of the native reformers will be in a large measure removed, and its place should be taken by a sanguine inspiration which should remove all desire to resort to violence.

The Royal Commission appointed to report on the relations between the Supreme Government and the Provincial Governments of India goes to the root of the matter. While pointing out that the old system of local autonomy has in some provinces disappeared, nevertheless it recognises that "the foundation of any stable edifice which shall associate the people with the administration must be the village."¹ The revolution in official opinion, revealed by this confession, is too complete and too obvious to need amplification. The Commissioners go on to make the further confession that the small success of local self-government hitherto experienced, is due to the fact that we have attempted to build from the wrong end. We have worked from the top instead of the bottom.

Two outstanding recommendations are made by the Commissioners. The village committee system should be developed. Certain limited powers, connected with civil and criminal jurisdiction in minor cases should be entrusted

¹ Sir A. T. Arundel, *Nineteenth Century* (May 1909).

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

to their care under the guidance of suitable officers. One effect would be the relief of the regular courts from the necessity of settling trifling disputes, while the people would be saved the expense and delay of long journeys to the courts. The greater gain would lie in the training of the people in democratic methods.

Secondly, the sub-district boards, the administrative institutions which link up the district boards with the village committees, should be strengthened. Since 1871 each district has been controlled by a rural board, assisted by sub-district boards. These boards have contained non-official members, but the chairman has in most cases been an official, especially on the head-district board. The sub-district boards have not been entirely successful. The Commissioners attribute this to the limited powers, and parsimonious finance controlled by the boards. In Madras and Assam they have been allowed a freer hand with more successful results. The Commissioners advise that the next step in the erection of a self-governing system, after the foundation has been organised on the basis of the village committees, should be the development of the sub-district boards, by extending their powers, and increasing their control over finance. One suggestion is to grant the district boards authority to assist the sub-district boards with finance when necessity shall arise. Another suggestion made by Sir S. Edgerley is to reverse the process, by making the district boards federal councils consisting of delegates drawn from the sub-district boards, and financed by the ancillary sub-district boards.¹

The revolutionary trend of these suggestions is obvious. But it points out the natural course of events for true development, if a democratic policy is accepted as the desideratum of Indian political conditions. At least it coincides with the wishes of a powerful section of the Indian community. The educated classes are bent upon

¹ Sir A. T. Arundel, *Nineteenth Century* (July 1909).

AFRICA AND THE EAST

the ideal of self-government for India. The presence of a foundation for their hopes in the democratic nature of the ancient village system, and in the institutions already created by the British administration, suggests that their hopes are not unjustifiable. It may be that the recommendations of the Commissioners are but a fresh confession of inevitable tendencies, and a wise recognition of natural conditions.¹

¹ Cf. Appendix III.

CHAPTER XII

INDIA: EDUCATION AND CHRISTIANITY

DEMOCRACY is fostered by commerce or by education. Democratic institutions may be awarded, but they remain unfruitful until the people have been taught how to use them, either through the enlightening influence of commerce—which means contact with other men—or by education. In the one case ideas are received directly from personalities whose experience and training are different, and this perhaps is the more bracing influence of the two. In the other case ideas come through books, or by the training of the rational faculties in simple processes of thought.

Commercial business for the Indian villages is a very distant goal. It is doubtful whether commercial methods will ever be largely introduced into the conditions of Indian village life. There is no reason why they should be introduced. The population of India is rural. Its employment is agricultural. India will always remain chiefly an agricultural community, producing either the great necessities of life, or raw products for the commercial and industrial nations. But in order to make the agricultural potentiality of the country fully productive, to guard the people adequately against famine and plague, to raise the standard of comfort beyond the mere satisfaction of purely animal wants, some measure of self-government is necessary. Only by self-government are self-respect and a true self-interest created and maintained. Failing the influence of commerce, education remains the factor to bring about the change.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY

There must be no hurried attempt to bring the three R's within the reach of all members of the village population. The fact that they are tillers of the soil, and will always remain so, must ever be kept in view. They need education in the simple laws of health and life, in the simple processes of agricultural science, in the necessity of moral law, and in the development of those democratic ideas which they already possess. A literary education, even of the elementary nature in vogue in the primary schools,¹ is to be deprecated. The necessity is for training in agricultural and kindred industrial arts. Just as among higher classes of society the need is for education in engineering and technology and the methods of commerce, in order to foster a true Swadeshi movement, so in village life, it is a knowledge of the correct processes of satisfying the wants of daily life and not literary instruction creating impossible ambitions, which is the outstanding necessity of the Indian people. Whatever is done, the process by which the learned professions of India have been overmanned, must be avoided in the country centres.

For this reason only certain members of the village, or sub-district, should be selected for such education as would qualify the candidate to sit on any of the local councils. The education of every Indian boy in a literary sense is to be discouraged. Nor should such education at present be made free, at the most, only specially fitted candidates should be accepted for such training. It is probable that the families of the headmen and their near relatives, can continue to supply the funds necessary for such education. But in the technical, industrial, and agricultural training, together with moral instruction, a Government scheme should include all members of the community.

It may be replied that strong practical objections can be raised against the suggestion. Such a system might

¹ Yusuf Ali, *Life and Labour in India* (1907), p. 115 ff.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

render the agriculturalist a wiser man, but he would not be more happy, because the influence of the "Chaudikar"¹ and characters of his type would only be perpetuated. But a committee of such men would be far less objectionable than the influence at present exerted by the village watchman. Not only so, but the spirit of self-respect and self-confidence, created by the possession of a sound knowledge of the daily occupation, and the public spirit created by careful moral instruction, would give rise to an attitude of free criticism when the actions of the more highly educated representatives on the village councils was doubtful. Besides, there would always be the district and sub-district committees, backed by all the supervisory influence of the British officials, to make corruption and oppression difficult. The democratic reform suggested by the Royal Commission would not have the effect of removing the British administration farther away from the village communities. It would, in fact, bring the two into closer and more intimate contact. It would be more possible for the Government to arrive at rural opinion. The rivalry between district, sub-district and village committees would be sufficiently strong to prevent them becoming a close vested interest which hoodwinked the Government. Moreover, the presence of British officials on some of the boards would render such a result extremely difficult and improbable.

The difficulties attached to this most delicate of problems do not end when the right sort of education has been agreed upon, and when some attempt has been made to guard against the dangers of over-education. If the village communities are to be instructed in the elements of such knowledge as will qualify them for self-government, and equip them to earn their bread in face of the growing economic pressure produced by the increasing population, the Government will be faced with a vast additional

¹ The village watchman.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

burden of expenditure. But Lord Cromer¹ has pointed out that the peasants of India cannot respond to any appreciable increase in taxation. The revenue system of India must always be based upon low taxation. The total annual resources of the tiller of the soil are about forty shillings sterling. This is sufficient to supply his own needs, and the needs of his family. When famine and plague are kept away it is sufficient to ensure a contented if quiet existence. But it does not allow for any considerable contribution to the treasury of the Government of India. It is therefore extremely doubtful whether an education rate can ever be levied upon the great mass of the Indian population.

Another difficulty arises from the caste system. Even an agricultural community is divided into different elements all clearly defined and demarcated from each other. It is a matter of religion. The religious arrangements of Hinduism have worked their way deeply into the social organisation of the people. Any reform—political, educational, or social—immediately comes into contact with religion, and arouses a number of truculent prejudices and sentiments. The adoption of western ideas does not merely place the individual under suspicion of being denationalised, it not only gives him the reputation of being a radical critic of the ancient system of life and manners, it places him outside the pale of the religious system of an intensely religious people.

Both these difficulties create an opportunity for Christianity. The Christian Church can come to the assistance of the Government with a system of education less expensive than any scheme which the Government can introduce. By virtue of their high calling the missionary teachers are able and willing to work for less remuneration than that required by specially trained Government teachers. By rousing the sense of Christian and imperial duty in the

¹ *Quarterly Review* (Oct. 1913).

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

Church in England larger sums of money would be forthcoming for the work of educating the people of India. Government grants in aid would be necessary, but on a far smaller scale than any contribution required by a purely state system.¹ Moreover, the missionaries are able to make a grant go farther than an equal sum of money spent on a Government scheme. In the sphere of higher education the Government have already recognised the value of missionary enterprise by making grants to Christian schools and hostels. At Agra and Allahabad and Calcutta the missionary institutions, planned on the model of English public schools and the English university collegiate system, have received considerable support from the Government exchequer. This is no more than what has been advocated for some time past by some Indian administrators of high standing.²

The caste difficulty is overcome by the maintenance of different messes for the boys in schools, and different hostels for the representatives of different religions in the colleges. In this way the reactionary tendency of the purely sectarian university is avoided.³ Magnificent work is being done by the Muhammadan college at Aligarh, and by the Hindu college at Benares. But in each case the exclusive and segregative influence of these religions is maintained and emphasised. On the other hand, the hostel system enables the members of different Indian religions to maintain their several forms of worship intact, but without cutting them off from the society of members of other religions, whether Indian or European. The hostel life preserves the customs of social and religious training and upbringing, while in the lecture room, on the playing field, or in the debating room, all meet together on one common ground.

In the villages the religious difficulty is less acute.

¹ Rev. J. A. Sharrock, *Nineteenth Century* (Sept. 1909).

² Sir Andrew Fraser, *Among Indian Rajahs and Ryots* (1912), p. 259.

³ Sir Andrew Fraser, *Nineteenth Century* (April 1912).

AFRICA AND THE EAST

Therefore the work of Christian teachers is less complicated. By separating the members of different castes into distinct classes within the school, the opposing elements might be reconciled. The more difficult question of caste segregation during meals does not arise in a day-school. But whatever obstacles have to be overcome, they are surely not insurmountable to an organisation which is successfully tackling the more complicated problem of university education; and the fact that the Government has already recognised the work of Christian missions in the more difficult sphere of university life should create a favourable tendency towards Government support in the work of educating the villages.

But whatever support the Government may see fit to give to the missionary societies, it will be long before the problem of education can be adequately dealt with by such a method. Religious feeling in India is much too strong to allow any one sect, even that of a western religion, to become the endowed promoters of education. The difficulty is not merely one of caste, it is a conflict of religions, in which are involved three of the great Oriental religions. For many years to come, any attempt to grant Government funds to a Christian mission in any particular district, must be accompanied by an equal grant to a school under the control of the representatives of the leading religious system of the locality. As the hostel system in the university overcomes the rivalry between the representatives of Hinduism and Muhammadanism, so in village life more than one school must be provided to meet the needs of the case. The division of different castes into different classes will solve the difficulty where the parents are willing to send their children to a Christian school, but where they refuse to send them a Government grant must be forthcoming to enable them to maintain their own school. In Muhammadan centres the rivalry will be more acute, there are no castes to sow dissension in the native

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

community, and so make resort to the teacher belonging to another religion more easy. In either case the mission schools must stand or fall by their merits, and the adjudicator of efficiency and work will be the native parent, not the Government, in the first instance.

The outlook may appear to be exceedingly uncertain. But the success achieved by the Christian hostels, working in even competition with the colleges maintained by the native religions, augurs well for the experiment in village life. The Indian community has long expressed its estimation of the value of the Christian moral training, by sending its sons to Europe for education, in order to escape the dangers of school and college life in India. So, too, since the foundation of the hostels, many Indians prefer to send their sons to them, willing to undergo the risk to which their own religious faith is thereby subjected, in order to escape the moral dangers prevalent in the native schools and colleges.

The whole problem is religious. The native religions fail to provide the requisite moral training. The secular institutions founded by the Government fail in the same way.¹ The Indian parent realises that morality in education depends upon religion: if not upon definite dogmatic teaching, at least upon a definite religious atmosphere.

One very necessary caution has to be made. The failure of the educational policy of the Indian religions is not so much due to the religious tenets of the different systems, as to the methods employed. If some Indian parents prefer to send their sons to Christian institutions, that does not mean that the Indian community as a whole despairs of education conducted by the professors of its own religions. It demands, and has a right to demand, that the Government shall render assistance in reforming the educational policy of Hinduism and Muhammadanism.

¹ Swami Baba Bharati, *Nineteenth Century* (Jan. 1912); Sir A. Fraser, *Nineteenth Century* (Oct. 1910; April 1912).

AFRICA AND THE EAST

Meanwhile, in order to emphasise its sense of the deficiency, a certain proportion of the Indian community is prepared to pass its sons through the Christian schools and hostels.

But the opportunity for Christianity, during the period of transition, is all important. The Christian Church has it in its power to decide the ultimate character of the transitionary period. It has the power to decide whether the present phase shall prove to be a mere pause in the progress of education upon purely native lines, which is the desire of the majority of native parents, or whether it shall become the turning by which the people of India will definitely abandon the older systems, with all their special ideals, in favour of education under Christian influences.

The confession has been made that the moral influence surrounding Christian education is superior to anything yet produced by Hinduism or Muhammadanism.¹ It rests with the Church to maintain the lead obtained, and to seize the opportunity offered of leavening Indian society with Christian principles of morality, if not with Christian doctrine. In this enterprise it must not hope for special treatment by a Government which is compelled by principles of justice and equity to remain neutral. It can hope for equal support with the native religions. It starts with the considerable advantage that it can make the funds awarded by the Government go farther than those awarded to Hindu or Muhammadan schools and colleges, or to the secular institutions founded by the British administration. It can relieve the drain on the Government exchequer, and the burden on the Indian taxpayer to this extent. But the major work of retaining the good opinion of the Indian community, and therefore the combined support of the Government, rests with itself. As it has been already pointed out, this drain on the exchequer of the Government of India, and the burden on the Indian

¹ The writer elicited this statement from a member of the Muhammadan college at Aligarh, and from a Hindu in 1908 or 1909.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

taxpayer can be further relieved by the support given by the Church at home. Herein lies the immediate opportunity for Christianity. By stepping in to meet, in part, the great need of India for education, which shall not be cut off from religion and morality, the Church will exert no small influence in training the Indian people for the reception of those rights of self-government which are the object of their political aspiration.

Indeed, the opportunity open to the Church is cumulative in promise. If it is seized by the Church in England, if the work of the missionary societies is supported by funds from home, the Government will be encouraged to continue its grants-in-aid. The missionary institutions will thereby be the better able to respond to the need of India for religious and moral education, and thereby an avenue will be opened to the training of the Indian people in the spirit of democracy.

It is through education that the democratic attitude of Christianity can be brought into contact with the peoples of India. Through education the spirit of Christian democracy can be brought to bear upon the potential democracy of village life. The local institutions of the country districts are democratic in character. The seeds of self-government are there. A royal commission has made the admission, and has recommended that the future political development of India should be based upon the foundation of village life—that foundation will be strengthened, and that process will be stimulated by the spread of Christianity in rural areas. The great mass movements towards Christianity of recent years prove that even Christian dogma is not inconsistent with the needs of Indian society. The increase in the total number of Indian Christians during the years 1901–11 has been 900,000, an increase of 32·6 per cent.¹ Particularly in the south

¹ F. H. Brown, *Nineteenth Century* (March 1914), and Sir A. Fraser, *Nineteenth Century* (Aug. 1914).

AFRICA AND THE EAST

have these big movements been recorded. If these figures can be taken as a justification for the conviction that the Christian way of doing things, and the Christian way of looking at life, are not unsuited to the special character and temperament of the people of India, much more confidence can be placed in the hope that the greater number of Indian parents, who would never consent to allow their sons to come under the influence of the direct dogmatic teaching of Christian evangelists, will nevertheless not be unwilling to entrust them to the secular and moral training offered in Christian schools and colleges.

The effect of Christianity in village life will be twofold. Not only will a true democratic spirit be created, but the caste system will receive a solvent which will disintegrate it more rapidly and surely than any exhortation and firmness displayed by Government officials in the conduct of administration. The bands of caste have been loosened by education in the student centres of Indian life. The hostel has been particularly fruitful in this laudable result. But still more marked has been the effect of Christian dogmatic teaching in dispelling the influence of caste in these parts of India where mass movements towards Christianity have taken place. The Bishop of Madras has pointed out the wonderful effect of Christianity not only in obliterating caste, but in creating a peasantry possessed of a more complete self-confidence and self-reliance, and a higher notion of comfort and morality than was deemed possible a generation ago. These are the very qualities upon which the growth of the democratic spirit can flourish. So far from hindering the progress of the Indian peoples towards self-government, the spread of Christianity is preparing them for the reception of democratic ideals. This result is less marked where the village people are only brought under the educational influence of the missionaries, as distinct from their evangelistic work, but what is true of the greater, must be partly true

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

of the less. Christianity, whether direct or indirect, tends to break up caste.

It is true that the Bishop's researches are concerned mainly with the peoples of Southern India, the ancient Sudras who were in the land before the Hindu Aryans came down and enslaved them by means of the caste system. But the inference is not affected—indeed, it is strengthened. The effect of Christianity is to clear the way for the more ancient and more democratic notions of Indian village life to reassert themselves. Thus, not by preserving Hinduism—which is the characteristic religious attitude of modern India—but by removing it, will the way be opened for the true development of the people of India; and the most potent factor in achieving this end will be the much maligned influence of Christianity.

There is good reason for believing that when the democratic tendency of Christian influence is realised by the leading sections among the more progressive of modern Indians, much of the religious opposition offered to Christianity will be abandoned. The religious opposition of educated Hindus to the propagation of Christianity is very largely inspired by a fear that the adoption of Christianity by the people will hinder the programme of political reform, and bolster up the British autocracy. In the case of the Muhammadans the opposition is more purely religious. But in both cases the perception of the democratic tendency of Christianity, when its principles are allowed to germinate by natural processes, will do much to dispel, not merely the suspicion of Hindu and Muhammadan towards the Christian, but also the Indian nationalist towards the British regime.

If the modern tendency to devote more attention to village committees and less to legislative councils represents a correct policy, none the less must a careful watch be kept upon the other end of the line of development. The general result, as well as the steps by which it is to be

AFRICA AND THE EAST

attained must be kept well in view. The local aspect of the future democracy of India may be fairly clear, but what of its central character? After all, there must be a hub to the wheel; there must be an inter-relation between the parts; there must be a unity which is something more than a mere semblance. The political development of the village life of India cannot be undertaken without considering the national character of the self-governing India of the next century.

What sort of self-governing organism is to be developed in India? It is clear that it will be federal in character. The cleavage of race and religion, and the provincial system at present in vogue under British domination, make that fact manifest. But is the federal system of India to be a homogeneous organism, like that existing in the United States of America or that which promises to appear in China?

The answer seems to be, that while the political unity of the Indian peoples must be equally strong, it can never be so cohesive. It will be rather the unity of an empire than the unity of a nation. Two strong factors militate against national cohesion in India, both of which do not appear either in America or China, and neither of which exists in either of them with anything like the same degree of intensity as each exists in India. Race and religion are two incontrovertible obstacles to the creation of a homogeneous Indian nationality. There is a competition of races in America, and a competition of religions in China, but in neither case does the competition amount to the conflict which exists in India, where the disunion is made worse by the existence of both factors side by side.

The problem of the development of democracy in China presents much less difficulty, not only because the overthrow of the Manchus has removed the last vestige of racial competition, but because the rivalry in religion is far less acute. China is not an intensely religious

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

country like India. Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and Muhammadanism do not divide up the Chinese people as Hinduism and Muhammadanism cut up the Indian peoples into sections. Most Chinamen are Confucianists and Taoists at the same time, while many hold, in addition, some of the specific doctrines of the two alien religions of China. The Chinaman has never been a religious fanatic. He possesses an even, philosophic temperament which inclines towards eclecticism in religion. The influence of competing religions in China has always been tempered by the loyalty of the individual Chinaman to the ancient traditions of his race. Hence nationality has always been present, though perhaps it has not always been recognised.

In India religious competition takes the form of a religious conflict. This is largely due to the fact that in India the difference of race has been so clearly demarcated. Indeed, the influence of race has been so strong as to give the religious differences of the people an importance and influence out of all proportion to their intrinsic antipathies. Thus race rather than religion forms the real cleavage when India turns her attention inwardly, however much religion may appear to be the real barrier when her life and thought are compared with external and especially western systems.

The effect of race cleavage has been clearly in evidence in other parts of the world. Christianity has failed to unite Teuton, Slav and Latin in Europe. Racial differences have kept them apart. Catholicism and the Hapsburg dynasty have not been able to weld the Austro-Hungarian monarchy into a compact whole. The existence of Finn and Slav, and Latin and Turk in the Balkans will always constitute a social problem in the Near East. Even in Ireland the influence of race has been stronger than that of religion in hindering the absorption of the Hibernian people into the political system of the British Isles. So,

AFRICA AND THE EAST

too, in the United States, the great influx of Latin and German emigrants is causing trouble to Anglo-Saxon institutions, and threatens to become a problem almost as difficult, and far more dangerous, than that of black and white.

Whatever federal system is introduced into India, it must take account of the racial cleavage between the many different peoples of India. The correct trend has been started in India by the old provincial system. By opening up the legislative councils more freely to the local influence of the native communities, Lord Morley's reforms have maintained the right direction. The federal tendency has been maintained, while the local demarcations of race are preserved by concentrating attention upon a local centre. The future political development of India must run along these lines. Racial differences cannot be ignored in any attempt to obtain a homogeneous unity. India consists, not of provinces, but of nations—not of states, but of races.¹ Political unity will be a conglomeration of nations; it can never be a union of provinces. The conglomeration may be welded into a firm, if artificial, organisation by the inspiration of a grand imperialism. The ideal of empire, to all the peoples of India, is more real and actual than to any other collection of peoples in the world. When religious animosities and prejudices have died down, as assuredly they will, under the influence of western education, the imperial ambition of the different peoples will be sufficient to knit together the different racial units. But those units will never be fused.

In the part which Christianity will play in the development of a true self-governing empire of India this racial cleavage must be kept in view. Indeed, Christianity stands to gain little unless the lines of divergence are observed. Religious differences may be overcome, and

¹ Cf. Sir A. Fraser, *Nineteenth Century* (April 1912).

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

they must be removed if self-government is to have freedom for growth, but the history of the West proves that racial differences reappear inside Christianity.

Thus all attempts to found a National Church of India, meaning by that term a homogeneous organism, possessing one definition of faith, and one system of Church government and ritual, are not likely to succeed. Similar attempts in Europe have failed from the time when the Greek Church attempted to legislate for the Western Church with a majority of over 300 against seven at Nicæa. There never was an œcumenical Church of the West. Even at Chalcedon the easterns greatly outnumbered the westerns in *personnel*, and still more vastly outweighed them in influence. The definitions of Nicæa and Chalcedon are Byzantine, not western. The racial divergence which broke the Roman Empire into two sections rapidly divided the Church into two camps, and the process was repeated when the Holy Roman Empire and the Catholic Church split amid the collision between Teuton and Latin. The divisions of Christendom represent historical racial divergencies, deeply rooted and inherent in the different elements of which the old formal unity was composed.

The lesson, then, of history must be learned. No attempt must be made to found an œcumenical Church of India. There can be no All India Catholic League.¹ Christianity must follow the lines of racial cleavage. Within the different communities of India, Christianity must adapt itself to racial differences in all matters of dogmatic definition, Church government, and ritual. National Churches, not an œcumenical Church, form the true, indeed, the practicable, ideal. The true goal is an Indian Christianity expressed in the form of Indian Churches,² which will correspond to the different races which go to make up the population of India. The feder-

¹ Not in the sense in which we speak of the "All India Muslim League."

² Of course, sects are not implied.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

ation of the Churches will help to build up a true federation of the provinces, which in turn will foster a federation of the Indian races, each self-governing, and held together, so long as necessary, by the supervision of the British Raj, but working always towards the creation of a co-ordinate, if not an inherently cohesive, native Indian imperial system.

It is not a question of assisting the elements of western civilisation to adapt themselves to Africa and the East, in order to continue and develop the fundamental elements of African and Oriental life. It is a question of the gradual displacement of that which is African and eastern in substance by that which is western. But this does not mean that no attempt should be made to incorporate, in the process of orientalising Christianity, whatever is of value in the native religions. Human nature is the same the world over, but that which distinguishes one civilisation from another is form. While substance is the root of the matter, the popular consciousness is seldom aware of the fact. For practical purposes, what generally counts is form. And yet all the time substance exerts its silent influence unperceived, and through long centuries a people may cling to the still vigorous forms which are the mere brittle exterior of a decaying inner substance. When the time for renewal comes, the reformer will be wise who retains, wherever possible, the characteristic external features of the old civilisation. He should seek to embody the new spirit with the old forms. In all the problems which are affected by Christianity he should adopt the policy of orientalising Christianity. The substance should be Western, the form Eastern.

CHAPTER XIII

CHINA: A POLITICAL PROBLEM

Two factors have co-operated to change, whether permanently or not, the condition of China: trade and Christianity. Trade has supplied her with a motive for discontent. Christianity has suggested the means of fulfilment for her new aspirations. Since the great revolution of 1912 the people who know China best have taken sides on the question of China's future. There are those who allege that the revolution is the result of causes which cannot be denied their natural effects in a reformed and a democratic China. The Chinese people have passed through the phase of political change, based upon economic and social movement, which comes to every great people when the fitting moment arrives. The laws of political science are working themselves out in China. Constitutional government has come to stay.¹ Others argue that no radical transformation of Chinese thought or civilisation has taken place. A few students may have returned from Europe and America imbued with modern notions of statecraft. They have become sufficiently influential to bring about the downfall of the Manchu dynasty. But the revolution has only vitally affected the extreme eastern provinces. It has left five-sixths of the people untouched.² It has not even involved the bulk of the nation in the revolutionary war. The age-long traditions of Chinese society and polity are too deeply implanted to be uprooted.

¹ E. J. Dingle, *China's Revolution* (1912). "Clark Lectures," *China and the Far East* (1910).

² Captain A. Corbett-Smith, *Nineteenth Century* (Sept. 1912).

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY

The present republic is bound to revert to the type which it has not even succeeded in completely casting off.¹

But the fact remains that a revolution has been accomplished. No one can say definitely what will be the permanent result of the upheaval. It is sufficient for the investigator to accept this present fact, to attempt an explanation of its causes, and to forecast a probable development of Chinese affairs. The Chinese question is a problem. It must be regarded as a problem. Moreover, it is a problem to which the ultimate solution has not yet been found. The important matter is the next immediate phase. The step beyond that can only be suggested, and so on with diminishing confidence, until the final solution fades away in the mist of uncertainty.

Two strong currents are at work. There is the inner momentum of China's own development. That development may be static rather than dynamic in character, but it is a movement of accumulated power, potential rather than active in expression, and capable of bursting forth into complete self-assertion. The old political and social ideas of China cannot be brushed aside. They must always make themselves felt, and they may suddenly swing into the balance and turn the scale backwards in the direction of conservative development. Then there is the current of western influence, impinging itself upon the slowly moving body politic of China through the channels of trade and Christianity, and threatening to introduce elements which will result in a headlong activity towards reform and change.

¹ A. R. Colquhoun, *Fortnightly Review* (Nov. 1911); Lord Cromer, *Nineteenth Century* (May 1913); J. O. P. Bland, *Nineteenth Century* (May 1912). This conviction received support from the reactionary movement at the close of 1915. The President, Yuan Shih Kai, declared himself Emperor. But the revived monarchy has been short-lived. In the early part of 1916 Yuan Shih Kai was forced by the republican party to revert to the status of President. There are many signs that he may be compelled to vacate office altogether.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

It is with the latter of these two currents that we are concerned. For no final conclusion as to the future of that which is historically known as Chinese can be foretold, until the effects of the West upon China have been completely and adequately appraised. No one can deny that there has been a renaissance under western influence. The problem centres in the question whether the renaissance will be permanent, or a passing phase in the slow revolution of the Chinese wheel of State. It may be that through the two sluices of trade and Christianity an extra volume of power has passed on to the paddles of the great wheel, which has been shoved unwillingly forward, only to resume its slower movement when the new streams have exhausted their initial force. But the nature and possible effects of these influences must be examined.

Trade has supplied the motive for the great discontent of China's leading men. At present the discontent takes the form not so much of a desire to compete with or to oust the competition of the western nations from the commercial centres of the empire, as a desire to free China from the political effects of western trade upon her. By means of trade the western nations have established certain more or less permanent footings on the fringe of the empire. These footholds were extorted from China at the point of the bayonet. They threaten to expand, and the expansion will be also at the point of the bayonet. But if they expand, the danger of the dismemberment of China will become real. The foreign "concessions" protected by the law of "extra-territoriality" are threatening China with the fate of Poland, or of mediæval Italy. How real is the danger may be seen from the recent ultimatum sent by Japan to the Chinese Government after the capture of Tsing-tao from Germany. Between the sanction of the first concession to Great Britain in 1881 and this most recent exhibition

AFRICA AND THE EAST

of foreign ambition, the process has moved steadily forward. It was hoped that the two modern principles of "China for the Chinese" and "the open door" would remove all cause of alarm to Chinese patriots, while allowing complete opportunity and freedom to western trade. But the declaration of the policy of the open door has hardened the concessions into spheres of influence, with an expanding tendency. So long as China remained a closed door the western nations could hope for little in the way of territorial aggrandisement. International ambition was checked by the eternal wall of Chinese exclusiveness. The nations knew that they could not extend their influence without directly challenging China to war. But when China was laid open it became possible, at once, by pressing forward trading concerns, in the form of railway and mining enterprises, to throw out from the coast concessions, feelers into every part of the eastern division of the empire. These feelers tend to expand at the base, and to become extending cones which will add, if ever dismemberment be accepted as a practicable policy, large sections of the Pacific littoral to the western nations and Japan.

On the west and north a similar process is at work, though influenced by different causes. Indeed, it is on the west and north that the signs of dismemberment are most apparent. The extension of British influence in Tibet, as the result of Colonel Younghusband's expedition, the renewed grip of Russia upon Mongolia, and the establishment of Japan in Manchuria are signs of the times. It may be true that these movements in west and north have been influenced more by the internal disruptive tendency,¹ which has appeared since the revolution, rather than by any attempt upon the part of foreign nations to extend their trading interests. But whether the foreigner claims merely to protect the tribes of remote

¹ E. J. Dingle, *China's Revolution* (1912), p. 246.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

provinces, or whether he seeks to obtain the trade of the eastern provinces, if the result be occupation in any form, the problem for China remains the same—how to prevent dismemberment. Moreover, whatever be the initial motive for the interference of Great Britain, Russia, Japan, France, or America, and until recently Germany, the claim by which these nations will maintain their right to interfere will be based upon considerations and arguments of trade. So that the territorial integrity of China is intimately related to the ambitions of western and Japanese commerce. That is to say, the problem springs from the contact of West and East.

The problem of trade in China differs totally from that in Africa. It is not a moral question arising from the nature of the trade goods, or from labour difficulties involving the persons of the natives of China. It is a political question creating serious difficulties for the future integrity of Chinese nationality and independence. There was until recently a commercial question which threatened moral ruin to the people of China, and cast moral opprobrium upon the western nations engaging in the trade. But suppression of the opium traffic by means of an agreement between the Chinese and Indian Governments has removed this question from the sphere of inquiry.

In all the relations of the western nations with China one fact of importance has to be constantly remembered—a sphere of influence in China differs greatly from a protectorate in Africa. In China each foreign nation has two factors to consider—the Chinese Government and the other western nations. In Africa only one of these factors is present—the other western nations. There is no native administrator to watch and check the movements of the western power. Not only so, but in Africa the domination of the western nation is complete. Local autonomy is non-existent. In China the policy of the western powers is always subject to the criticism of the heads of the Celestial

AFRICA AND THE EAST

Empire. The centre of gravity for the spheres of influence is the Government of China. The influence of other western powers makes itself felt through the Chinese Foreign Office. The range of the problem in Africa is local, concerning chiefly the native races themselves. In China the problem is international, involving the relations of the great powers of the world among themselves. When Englishman and African meet on African soil the contact may be felt in Downing Street, but it is not necessarily felt at Berlin or Paris. On the other hand, when Englishman and Chinaman meet on Chinese territory the telegraph wires between the European capitals begin to click. The reason is to be found in the fact that the protectorates and spheres of influence in Africa are clearly defined and self-contained. In China they are inter-related. Moreover, behind this fact we find an equally active cause of difficulty in the presence of nationality in China which is absent in Africa. The African continent contains the most heterogeneous mass of peoples in the world. It is a mere conglomeration of races. The Chinese nation is the most cohesive in the East, and rivals, without organisation, the solidity of the most highly organised nations of the West. If a German syndicate begins to build a railway in a German protectorate or sphere of influence in Africa, there is no African Colonial Office to take umbrage. But if a similar syndicate lays down metals in China, the Wai-wu Pu¹ at once appeals to the other western Governments for interference. Or if the Wai-wu Pu sanctions the German scheme, the other western Governments suspect that the wires of Chinese policy are being pulled against themselves.

The contact of the West with the East in China creates problems of high diplomacy. In Africa the director of a company can often settle points in dispute with the natives. There will be no war between the European

¹ The successor, in 1901, of the old Tsung-li Yamen, or Foreign Office.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

powers arising from the relations of one of the powers with the native races under its control. Fashoda and the Agadir incidents were concerned with the relations of the powers between themselves. Moreover, they proved that although African disputes may supply the sparks for a conflagration, the combustible materials are not African. European wrangling over the littoral of Africa has been largely the excuse for the expression of grievances lying much nearer home. But before the great upheaval of 1914 in the West, it was not clear that a collision between the European fleets in eastern waters, brought about by Chinese questions solely, could be avoided. Had the clash come, it could not have been confined to the Pacific Ocean.¹ The Great War has removed this

¹ A similar danger threatened to appear in Africa in the days when the Sultan of Zanzibar possessed an independent influence in East Africa. A German squadron was sent to overawe the Sultan in 1885. If the Sultan had been able to maintain independence, it would have been possible for Germany, under the plea of protecting German interests, to secure a naval base in East Africa. The other powers would not have been aroused to hostility. They would have been content to send their own squadrons to maintain their respective interests. But the presence of rival squadrons in close proximity would have constituted a menace similar to that which existed up to 1914 in the Far East. So, also, in 1911 the Sultan of Morocco afforded a lever, by means of which the Emperor William brought on a crisis. The despatch of the *Panther* nearly involved the powers in war. But the events of 1906 and 1911 proved that African contingencies, by themselves, were not sufficient to create a European war. Germany had stronger motives than those supplied by African questions for declaring war. She desired "jumping-off places" against England, more convenient than those to be obtained in Africa, with the exception of Egypt. The result might have been very different if the Sultan of Morocco had possessed the status and influence of the Imperial Government at Peking. In that case there would have been a concentration of the European fleets on the north African littoral. The initial purpose would have been to overawe the Sultan, but the result might have been a European war.

For a different view of the importance of African questions, cf. Mr. Evans Lewin, *The Germans in Africa* (1915), p. 230 f. Mr. Lewin quotes Mr. J. K. O'Connor: "It was evident that the possession of the African

AFRICA AND THE EAST

danger, but it has not altered the fact that the presence of western powers in China tends to complicate diplomatic relations between the powers,¹ unless the war in the West causes an evacuation of China by the powers. Such a solution of the Far Eastern question, so far as it affects the relations of the powers among themselves, is much to be desired, perhaps also for the welfare of China, and though not probable at the close of the present conflict, such a contingency is not unlikely at no distant future. This event would give Europe an opportunity of perceiving clearly whether the New China is to become a Yellow Peril or not. The removal of a *casus belli* between the great western powers in the Far East is one result of the war towards a simplification of the problem of East and West in China.

The instruments by which western influence makes itself felt are the same in both Africa and China—railways and mines, supported by foreign capital. In Africa the main difficulty centres in the labour by which these enterprises are worked. This is a serious problem for the administration, but not one which involves international relations. In China labour is plentiful and of a high value, while the persons of the labourers are protected by the nation which stands behind them. But it is the presence of this nationality which constitutes the problem for the West. Consequently, the trade problem in China is political, not merely administrative, or imperial, or inter-racial. All commercial questions have a vital bearing upon the political policy of the Chinese Government. Trade rivalries between different western nations become matters of political import to China, merely from the fact that Chinese nationality is an ever-present factor.

continent was the greatest desire of the Teutons, and it is this desire more than any other that has caused Germany to apply the torch to Europe."

¹ This is especially true in the presence of German machinations at Peking.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

The political character of western commerce in China was revealed by the opium wars. The definition and opening of the Treaty Ports made clear to the Chinese the determination of the western nations, and of Great Britain in particular, to create commercial zones in China, even at the expense of political complications. The situation resembled somewhat the condition of affairs in India during the early days of the East India Company, with the superlative difference that the active political force opposing the progress of the country was the rivalry of another western nation. French opposition, not Indian, drove the East India Company, in the first instance, to become an instrument of political and territorial aggression.

The second stage in the conflict was the opening of the first railway, from Tientsin to Shanghai,¹ in 1881. This phase became acute after 1898, when all the western nations began to compete for railway concessions. The hostility shown by Boxer movements clinched the difficulty. While Great Britain and America favoured a policy of "the open door," it became clearer than ever that "spheres of influence" were essential to maintain the security of foreign capital invested in the railways and in the Chinese Government funds. For, so long back as 1876 the necessities of the Government had made a foreign loan necessary. Here lay a reason for foreign interference even stronger than that which made "spheres of influence" guarantees of the railways. By resorting to foreign loans, China not only complicated her relations with the western powers, but enabled them to tighten their grip upon her territories. The Boxer indemnities added more chains to China's bondage, while the financial difficulties of the new republic continue to shackle the development of China with this noxious and powerful instrument of foreign

¹ An earlier line from Shanghai to Wusung, laid down in 1876, was pulled up a year or two later.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

coercion. The pathos of the whole situation lies in the fact that but for the weakness and uncertainty of China's own political vitality, the loans would remain as harmless to her as British loans are to the continental nations. China's bondage is due to her own weakness, which makes it impossible to supply the means of raising her from poverty without granting to foreign Governments rights over parts of her own territory which have almost sovereign authority. The whole system of the concessions, with the law of "extra-territoriality," are the fruit of western commercial ambitions, but are made necessary by the weakness of China's political system.

The influence of the western nations ramifies far beyond the limits of the spheres of influence surrounding the treaty ports, and far beyond the railway and mining enterprises which tend to extend the areas of the coastal concessions inland. The money borrowed by the Chinese Government for administrative purposes has deprived the nation of autonomy. The customs department has long been under the control of a British Minister, and under the new republican regime the President is provided with a British political adviser, to guard the interests of the western powers. The creation of the Chinese Republic has not been able to throw off foreign domination. Nor will such domination be removed until one of two things happens : either China must repay the foreign loans and buy out the foreign railway and mining interests, or she must establish a political system sufficiently strong to guarantee the interest and capital of all foreign money locked up in China.

For the western nations and Japan it is a commercial problem involving political action, though in the case of the latter country political considerations weigh almost equally heavily with commercial. For the Chinese the problem is one of urgent political necessity, centring round the creation of an indigenous commercial and

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

financial power. The needs of China are the restoration of the spheres of influence, together with the abolition of the law of extra-territoriality; the acquisition of the railway and mining concerns at present run by foreigners; the recovery of complete autonomy which the achievement of these objects will bring to pass. The development of her great material resources by her own activity is the only possible means of gaining these ends. But capital, more foreign capital, is the essential element to set her labour to work and make it productive, and, as the story of her long troubles reiterates, this means the continual tightening of the chains around her, unless——

It is clear that no commercial or financial device will solve China's problem unless the safety of foreign capital can be assured. Even so, the international question of politics will remain for solution, for the financial grip upon China is fast becoming a political thralldom. Unless—and here we are driven to the admission of a fact almost equally hopeless as a practical expedient—unless China can set her own house in order, unless she can develop a new and stable polity, unless she can so organise, first by political and then by economic reforms, the great labour resources at her command, and set them to work without fear of internal interruption upon her unbounded material resources, started by foreign capital which would then have nothing to fear, and which would be protected by an ever-slackening hold on the part of the western nations, as they saw the miracle in process—the development and progress of a Chinese democracy.

By the term democracy is meant representative government. The growth of representative institutions is affected by social conditions. Political development is involved with social progress. Before democratic machinery becomes workable it is essential that the social organisation should have reached a certain stage where a definite

AFRICA AND THE EAST

measure of freedom and local autonomy are enjoyed by the social units, whether village or town, or both. The constituent elements of the political organisation must have become purposive and autonomous organisms.

In the West this necessary stage in social development has been attained by the influence of economic change. The growth of commerce which followed the discovery of the New World, the accumulation of wealth, not merely dug from the silver mines of Potosi, but based upon the solid foundations of an ever-expanding trade, have gradually transformed the feudal society of Europe into a commercial system, where the possession of money, rather than land, forms the necessary element in the power exerted by any single member of the community. Economic development has made possible democratic government in the West. The transference of trade from the craft-gild to the trading corporation, from the trading corporation to the limited liability company, created first the power of the middle classes; and then, by heightening the standard of living by means of the increase in wages, opened the way to the assumption of political influence on the part of the working classes. For it was not until the spirit of trade and maritime adventure, equipping itself with the critical weapons supplied by the Reformation, began to assert itself in the body politic in Elizabethan days, that the theoretical political liberties won by the English people from the struggle between king and baronage began to appear as realities. The sense of freedom and independence supplied by the opening up of great territories in the Far West, supported by the impulse towards inquiry and criticism derived from the Reformation, caused the downfall of the royal prerogative of the Stuarts and the beginnings of Parliamentary government.

How stands the condition of China in the light of these facts? Superficially her position seems to be hopeless, because commercial development is not open to her

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

without the assistance of foreign capital, and foreign capital means foreign domination. Moreover, without commercial progress, political reform, *a priori*, is not possible. But the development of China's social and economic condition has not, in what we may call its mediæval stages, followed the process of the West. Up to a point the stages were similar. There was the change from nomadic to pastoral life. There was the gradual metamorphosis of the military authority of the clan chief into that of the village headman, who exercised a mere supervisory influence over the village cultivation of the soil. But there the process stayed. The autonomy of the village communities of China was not arrested by the importation of feudalism. Whatever was feudal in the mediæval life of China was rather a light superstructure superimposed upon the solid social freedom of the village communities, linking them, perhaps, with the central Government, but not crushing out their individuality as feudalism crushed the village institutions of the West. The quiet development of the social units continued. Economic progress, of a limited kind, was possible, without the intervention of vast commercial expansion. The larger villages became enclosed by town walls. Society still remained organised on a self-governing basis. The village institutions were not altered in character; they became urban in size. Later on, for the sake of more complete co-ordination, the towns and villages were grouped into provinces. The provincial viceroys and governors were placed under the direct control of the central government in Pekin. But the local life of the rural or urban Chinaman was not affected. Edicts issued by the throne filtered down through viceroy, district magistrate, and headman to the simple Chinaman, but meant little when they reached him. Apart from this his life went on uninfluenced by the Government at Pekin. Dynasties rose and fell. The Mings displaced the Tartars,

AFRICA AND THE EAST

and the Manchus turned out the Mings, but still the social organisation of China remained unaffected. So strong, indeed, did it prove, and so strong was the racial vitality behind it, that the Manchus were compelled to resort to a system of dual control in the higher branches of the administration before the revolution. We find on each of the seven government boards two presidents and four vice-presidents, drawn equally from Chinese and Manchus.¹ Moreover, it has been said that five-sixths of the empire have not been touched by the great revolution.²

In addition to the absence of feudal obscurantism, there has been no conflict between dynasty and baronage, creating a constitutional struggle in which the interests of the social units of village and town life were sacrificed first by one side and then by the other. The mediæval towns of the West were, indeed, able by this process to wrench from king or barons privileges which gave a certain measure of local control. But their position was very insecure, while that of the rural areas long remained in the grip of the manorial system. Not until economic changes had been created by the growth of foreign trade were political freedom and social security won for the communities of the West. Herein lies the crux of the matter. Social integrity was won for the West by commercial expansion. Political development had failed to achieve this end. The tyranny of feudal kings gave place to the tyranny of feudal barons, in turn to make way for the tyranny of the Tudors. King and barons alike failed to open the way to true democratic government, though they did succeed in creating the forms of representative institutions. Trade, aided by religion, at length achieved the victory. The political failure was due to the fact that the social organisation of the West, on the basis of self-governing local units, broke down.

¹ Putnam Weale, *The Reshaping of the Far East* (1905), I. p. 218.

² Captain A. Corbett-Smith, *Nineteenth Century* (Sept. 1912).

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

Now in China the social unit as an autonomous institution has never broken down. Herein lies the hope for political development. The assistance of trade as an initial factor is not required, though it is present as a motive. When representative institutions have been developed from the urban and rural institutions of China, trade will begin to appear. The Central Government will become steady. Capital will flow into the country. The great natural resources of China will be developed. Power and international influence will rapidly concentrate upon her. Thus the need of China, failing foreign capital, is at present democratic reform. This reform will not obviate the necessity for foreign capital, but it will make its entrance possible without any submission to foreign control.

The social organisation of China points to democracy. It contains the elements required by representative institutions. In village, and town, and province the spirit and form of self-government are present. So homogeneous are these units that the creation of provincial and national assemblies was actually achieved before the revolution broke out. The revolution was needed not to create representative institutions, but to ensure the unshackled development of the new constitution. China has for centuries been a democratic community in social organisation.¹ Wealth has not been entirely absent from her midst, but there has been no aristocracy of wealth, whether basing its claim upon the possession of lands or money. Learning has been the one coveted treasure of Chinese ambition. By the aid of classical learning it was possible for every villager to rise to important posts in the administration. The ancient examination system of China was a grand engine of social

¹ "Clark Lectures," *China and the Far East* (1910), p. 193; Y. K. Leong and L. K. Tao, *Village and Town Life in China* (1915), pp. 4-5; E. J. Dingle, *China's Revolution* (1912), pp. 16, 33, 151-152, 181 ff., etc.; A. R. Colquhoun, *Fortnightly Review* (Nov. 1911).

AFRICA AND THE EAST

equality, and presented equal opportunity to every member of the state. There has been no caste in China.¹ The influential Chinaman does not feel that abhorrence from contact with social inferiors which is characteristic of every other civilisation known to man. Here lie vast expanses of fallow land, waiting with all their virgin properties for the seed of democratic government to be sown. The seed will quickly germinate when the last remaining weeds of the old imperial system have vanished, for the roots of that system did not go deeply into the social life of China. The democratic nature of society has not been injured, for its fructifying properties have not been absorbed by the autocratic constitution. It has been alleged against the revolution that it left untouched five-sixths of the people of China, and that, therefore, we have no justification for regarding its results as permanent. But the opposite conclusion is more correct. If the incidence of revolution has been limited to a few provinces, that is because the greater part of the country did not need to be stirred by violent means. It turns naturally to the revolutionary propaganda. In the great rural areas of China the democratic principle is not new. Revolution was needed only where imperial influence was strong. It was needed not to preach reform, but to overcome reactionary opposition. That is true of all revolutions. They are but the expression of the people's will. Where there is no reactionary opposition, deeds of violence are unnecessary. Again, the comparative ease with which the revolution in China has been accomplished is a proof of the gulf which yawned between the old social system of China and the imperial organisation of the Manchus, even in districts where autocratic influence was strongest. The village system of China never fell so com-

¹ E. J. Dingle, *China's Revolution* (1912), p. 151 ; "Clark Lectures," *China and the Far East* (1910), p. 194 ; Y. K. Leong and L. K. Tao, *Village and Town Life in China* (1915), p. 65.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

pletely under the foot of autocracy as the village system of Europe fell beneath the heel of feudalism.

Not only have the social arrangements of China kept alive the spirit and form of democracy, but the political theory of the most representative of Chinese philosophers has never surrendered the democratic principle to the imperial claims. From the time of Mencius the Emperor's sovereignty has been based upon a democratic sanction. Confucius prepared the way for the enunciation of the teaching of Mencius by the doctrine that the Emperor is the Son of Heaven and the Father of his people. On the surface this seems to bind the polity in China to autocratic control. The constitution of China was apparently a paternal organisation. But every autocracy with a theocratic tendency sooner or later assumes in practice a more democratic form. The autocracy of God is a republic of man. In a theocratic system none can set himself above the rest, because all are equal in their inferiority to the deity. So it was possible for Mencius to teach that if the Emperor governed badly, his rule had lost the sanction of Heaven. He might be removed. The sign that he was governing badly was the complaint of the people. The judgment of Heaven upon him was the uprising of the people. Thus *vox populi* was *vox dei*. In practical political theory the imperial rule rested upon the sanction of the people—that is, upon a democratic basis. It was founded not upon a divine right to rule, but upon a divine right to rule well.¹ “Confucius said that without the confidence of the people no government can be maintained. If the prince's commands are just and good let the people obey them, . . . but if the subjects render slavish obedience to the unjust commands of a bad ruler, it is not the ruler only, but his sycophantic subjects themselves, who will be answerable for the consequent ruin of the state.” “Mencius went further,” says Mr. Johnston,

¹ R. F. Johnston, *Nineteenth Century* (July 1912).

AFRICA AND THE EAST

quoting the sage : “ ‘When the prince treats his ministers with respect, as though they were his own hands and feet, they in their turn look up to him as the source from which they derive nourishment; when he treats them like dogs or horses, they regard him as no more worthy of reverence than one of their fellow-subjects; when he treats them as though they were dirt to be trodden on, they retaliate by regarding him as a robber or a foe.’ ‘The Son of Heaven’ (the Emperor) can present his chosen successor to God, but he cannot compel God to recognise his nominee. Yao presented Shen to Heaven, and Heaven signified its acceptance of him. He presented Shen to the people, and the people too accepted him. He was the chosen of God and the chosen of the people; so he reigned.’ ”

A bad ruler might be put to death by his oppressed subjects. “With reference to the slaying of the infamous King Chou (1122 B.C.), Mencius, in his reply, observed : ‘I have heard of the killing of a robber and a villain named Chou; I have not heard about the killing of a king.’ A bad ruler was to be removed by the ministers and royal relatives. ‘If the sovereign rules badly they should reprove him; if he persists again and again in disregarding their advice they should dethrone him.’ ‘Let us suppose,’ said the sage, ‘that a man who is about to proceed on a long journey entrusts the care of his wife and family to a friend. On his return he finds that the faithless friend has allowed his wife and children to suffer from cold and hunger. What should he do with such a friend?’ ‘He should treat him thenceforth as a stranger,’ replied King Hsüan. ‘And suppose,’ continued Mencius, ‘that Your Majesty had a minister who was utterly unable to control his subordinates; how would you deal with such a one?’ ‘I should dismiss him from my service,’ said the king. ‘And if throughout all your realm there is no good government, what is to be done then?’ The embarrassed

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY

king, we are told, looked this way and that, and changed the subject."

To conclude these quotations, culled from Mr. Johnston's article, Mencius is reported to have said: "The most important element in a state is the people; next come the altars of the national gods; least in importance is the king." Here lies the germ of democratic institutions. The republic can find its justification far back in the political thought of the Chinese people. Farther back still, in the period before the rise of Confucianism, when Chinese thought was more completely religious than in the Confucian system, which was mainly a philosophy of life and politics, the democratic principle prevailed in the teachings of Taoism.¹

¹ E. H. Parker, *China and Religion* (1905), p. 34 ff.

CHAPTER XIV

CHINA: EDUCATION AND CHRISTIANITY

It has been customary to regard the defeat of China by Japan, the spread of western education throughout China, and the victory of Japan over Russia, as the causes of the Chinese revolution. But these factors were little more than stimuli acting upon the democratic principle long solvent in Chinese society, which responded at once when the stimuli were applied. Of these influences by far the most potent has been the spread of western education.

The process has been twofold. For several decades the mission schools and colleges of Europe and America have been gradually leavening the Chinese people at home with modern ideas. Since the war with Japan¹ numbers of Chinese students have been sent to the colleges of Great Britain, America, and Japan, to study western history, politics, law, science, medicine, and engineering. They have returned to China imbued with new notions of liberty, which have been disseminated throughout China by themselves and their agents, in the form of political propaganda.

Reference has already been made to the democratic nature of the ancient examination system of China. It was democratic in so far as it kept before the people an ideal of the best and the good, which was within the reach of all who possessed the requisite ability. After a certain stage in economic and social development has been reached,

¹ E. J. Dingle, *China's Revolution* (1912), p. 15.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

land and money cease to be within the reach of every aspirant possessing ability and capacity. But in a society where education and learning form the instrument by which positions of influence and power are gained, the tendency for an aristocratic ring to appear becomes almost non-existent. In China popular imagination aspires not after the positions held by the successful members of the community, with all that attends them of consequence and authority, but it looks to the fact of scholarship, so that, whether the scholar attains political or social power or not, he is always possessed of the admiration of the people. Thus the ancient educational system of China created a democratic aristocracy.

In addition, it has trained them in the method of democratic government. The successful competitor was the representative of his own social unit. By means of the competitive system the people became accustomed to the elevation of one of their number to an office of trust and importance. They have been trained in the selective method of the representative system. The ease with which the provincial assemblies have been appointed is largely due to this unconscious preparation through which the people of China had been passing.

The edict of 1906, which abolished the ancient examinations, removed at a blow all that was obscurantist in the old system. The shell had become decayed, rendering its spirit effete. With the abolition of the outer shell the spirit was released, and at once proved its vitality by the readiness with which it sprang to the acquisition of western knowledge, or to the recognition of those members of the community who had possessed sufficient foresight to acquire western knowledge before the old system was abolished. The educational work of the missions was at once recognised. Application was made to the mission societies to supply teachers for the government schools, which were planted all over the empire. The

AFRICA AND THE EAST

half-educated scholars of mission schools were eagerly accepted for official posts of a minor nature in all parts of China. All this was an unconscious step towards modern democracy. It was, indeed, the reincarnation of the old democratic educational spirit of China in the form of modern democracy. Just as the democratic movement in Europe during the last century was the product of the spread of popular education, so, too, by turning to modern education China has sanctioned the rise of democracy.

Not only was assistance rendered by the mission schools. Application was made to Great Britain and America for elementary teachers. The opportunity has been seized by the western nations of the English-speaking race not only to supply the means of providing elementary education, but, by formulating schemes for the foundation of university centres, to bring within the reach of Chinamen a university course without the necessity of going abroad. The University at Hong-kong, and the projected Oxford and Cambridge University at Wu-han, are the beginnings of a policy of higher education which is bound to be taken up on an extensive scale by the Chinese authorities.

It may be objected that these schemes are premature, because for many years to come it will be necessary for the public officials and professional men of China to be trained abroad, where they can have complete opportunity for stimulating the democratic instinct and acquiring the democratic attitude; and doubtless for many years to come the leading civil servants, lawyers, politicians, doctors, and engineers will continue to receive their training abroad. But the creation of Chinese universities is at present significant rather of the tendency of the Chinaman at home to turn to things western; for the universities have been founded to meet a need expressed by the Chinaman himself.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

That need had been felt and admitted in the days before the revolution by the central and provincial governments. They sent young men abroad for educational purposes. The early reform movement was in the hands of men already imbued by the ideals of western education. From these men were formed the provincial assemblies after the year 1909. The educational revolution gathered momentum from the increasing number of young men who returned to China to be scattered up and down the provinces, there to assist the provincial assemblies and to disseminate republican ideas by political agitation. The educational revolution spread from foreign centres, where the revolutionary leaders gathered together, and by means of open and secret agitation, all the more important of the home provinces were influenced, until the distant inspiration of Dr. Sun Yat Sen found an outlet in the Szechuan railway agitation and the military campaigns of General Li Yuan Hung. In all the intense activity of the secret political societies, as well as in the sober reforming tendency of the central government, education, western education, was the factor which brought on the political revolution.

The work of the revolutionaries has been criticised as an abortive attempt to change the imperial system of China, which has its roots far down in the affections of the people. But the revolution has been no more than the most recent phase of that movement towards reform commenced by western education. The rapid success of the movement has not been due to any perfervid imitation of the example of Japan. The Japanese are a small, compact nation, governed by a strong monarchy, which turned spontaneously towards western enlightenment. Guided by the new impulse, it was not difficult to adopt representative institutions, and to reorganise upon a constitutional basis a nation limited in area and population. But with China the causes which have expedited

AFRICA AND THE EAST

reform are different. The Chinese monarchy remained obdurate to change, until too late. The vast area of the country and the huge population rendered impossible the imposition of a constitution from above. It is this latter fact which has misled some modern observers. They have failed to perceive that China more than compensated herself for the lack of these favourable conditions by the possession of a democratic social organisation. Democratic ideas find congenial soil in China. In this way the rapid success of reform is explained. Reform is the result of the germination of modern education upon the old social system of China. The revolution, too, is a result, not a cause. It has been the effect produced by reform, through education, when opposition from above was placed before the future progress of the movement. Revolution is the expression of a people's will when its mind has been made up. It is not a tentative effort towards the discovery of a solution for present evils. That is the difference between revolution and rebellion. The revolutionary knows how to amend the needs of the State. The rebel is blindly seeking the means of amendment.

But if the reform movement owes its success to the fact that it is but the expression of the ancient spirit of China,¹ it must not be forgotten that this initial impulse is not sufficient by itself to keep reform along the right lines. The democratic feeling of society has opened the door to reform, but the democratic feeling of China is in a very elementary condition. If it has never quite died out, on the other hand it has never progressed. A new impulse, a new inspiration, together with an almost entirely new set of motives, must be introduced. The new impulse must be political, not merely social. The

¹ "The Chinese village folk are most capable of self-organisation and government."—Y. K. Leong and L. K. Tao, *Village and Town Life in China* (1915), p. 40.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

religious inspiration of the West must take the place of the merely ethical spirit of Confucius. Henceforth the motives of the Chinese people must not be a self-centred preservation of local autonomy on the part of the village and town committees, or a desire on the part of the Government to preserve its privileges by the mystery of proceedings conducted *in camera*. Still less may a compromise be made by the advancement of purely provincial interests by means of the federal system. It may be that the federal system of the United States of America will prove to be the constitution most suited to the provincial organisation of China. But rural and urban communities, provincial and central government alike, must all realise that henceforth, if they are to pursue democratic ideals by the aid of representative institutions, it must be with the motive of creating a truly national and a truly imperial China. All must be for the state, and none for himself.

Herein lies a radical hindrance to the growth of national or imperial democracy, especially when the development is from the township upwards. The strength of British democracy lies in the fact that it has followed a reverse process since the days of feudal autocracy. The process has consisted of the gradual surrender by the kingship, and then by the aristocracy, of all the more important instruments of government. The surrender has been made to the whole citizen body of the nation. Jealousies, then, between township and township, and province and province, have not occurred. But in a country like China, where the local autonomy of village and urban units has been so well preserved, the local interests may come into conflict as the effort is made to adapt them to a representative system. Only the introduction of a new impulse, a new inspiration, and new motives will enable the process of welding and coalescence to go on smoothly.

Emphasis has already been laid upon the part which education has played in bringing on the revolution. Its

AFRICA AND THE EAST

work must continue, for only by education can the new factors be introduced into the social democracy of China. Education can supply the political impulse. It can foster new motives by placing before China the history of the western nations, but especially that of modern Japan. It can also supply the new inspiration of religion. And here Christianity enters into the discussion.

It is through the instrumentality of education that Christianity has made itself felt in the life of China. With the prospect of continuing and extending the work of the mission schools, the missionary societies have before them an even greater opportunity of playing a large part in the solution of China's political problem. In this way they may influence her commercial policy of the future. Christianity has not been slow to seize the opportunity. During the last ten years the methods of the great British and American missionary societies throughout the East have been revised. Education receives far more attention now, in proportion to purely evangelistic work, than was the case before the Boxer rising. The mission schools are better equipped. A more highly educated type of missionary is being sent out. Every year the proportion of graduates from home universities on the dismissal platforms increases. University schemes for China, and notably that of Lord William Cecil, are being pressed forward. In this latest form of missionary enterprise the religious and moral aspects of education are being put forward prominently. The academic teaching is to be supplied by high graduates from the British and American universities, but the social life of the students, together with disciplinary control, will be under the supervision of an ordained clergyman, who will be placed in charge of the hostel where the students live. One great drawback to the benefit gained by Chinese students in Tokio has been the lax moral life encouraged by the absence of any form of collegiate system. The hostel system suggested for

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

the Oxford and Cambridge University at Wu-han promises to remove this difficulty, as well as to make possible the supply of direct Christian teaching for all who care to avail themselves of the instruction of the head of the hostel.

The effect upon the Chinese people can only be of the highest character. Not only will an increasing number of young men, trained on the soundest educational principles, and under the influence of a good moral discipline, be forthcoming for the public and professional services of China, but the whole standard of Chinese education will be raised. The mission schools and colleges will be for many years the models for the native educational arrangements of China.

But the influence of Christianity will not end here. Christianity is a democratic religion. It trains its converts in the democratic attitude of mind. Wherever it penetrates, freedom of action for the individual is gained. It acts as a solvent of autonomy. The old Roman Empire broke up beneath its influence. In the centuries that followed its dissolution, the Church stood as the guardian of individual life and morality. The fulminations of pope and bishop, the retreats supplied by the monasteries, preserved individual men and women from tyranny and guarded their souls from ruin. The new nations of Europe grew up around the national character which came into existence before the organisation of nationality appeared. The next stage in the development of modern democracy was the attainment of political liberty by the individual. But this achievement, too, was preceded by a return to Christian principles at the Reformation.

So, now in China the dissemination of Christian teaching is bound to quicken the indigenous democratic tendencies in Chinese life. Men accustomed to the democratic principle in the social life of town and village will find their aspirations towards a constitutional republic strengthened

AFRICA AND THE EAST

by the adoption of Christianity. Here is the part to be played by Christianity in the solution of China's great constitutional problem, on the road to the solution of her commercial difficulties. Chinese democracy will receive a new impulse from Christianity. That fact has already been recognised by more than one revolutionary leader, and notably by General Li Yuan Hung.

Inspiration, too—the new inspiration required by China to lead her to greater heights of national and imperial life—will be found in Christianity. If she is to learn to use her great resources on behalf of civilisation and humanity, only Christianity will provide the necessary instruction. A yellow peril is not altogether a chimerical fear. It may be true that the vast distances which Chinese armies would have to travel, before being able to strike at the western nations, renders impossible the rapid transit of large armies to the theatre of war. But our theories of transport will have to be revised after the rapid transference of great armies from one front to another and back again on the western and eastern boundaries of Germany. India, too, might again be invaded by the old route through Afghanistan. The Italian offensive against Trieste is daily proving that the high mountains are not impervious to patient attack, even in the face of trained troops and complicated defences. Then there is the sea. The development of Chinese commerce will almost certainly be followed by the creation of a Chinese navy. Japan would be taken by the way, and America is within easy striking distance. The Australian Government would have to take care of the badly guarded fringe of habitation round the great southern continent; while the appearance of Chinese cruisers off the Indian littoral would be followed almost certainly by an uprising against the British Administration.

It may be true that the paper schemes for a modern Chinese army are valueless. But the fact remains that

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

the six divisions created by Yuan Shih Kai in the early days of reform became the nucleus of the imperial armies which nearly succeeded in crushing the revolutionary forces.¹ The temper, also, of Young China must be watched. The military academies of Japan form the most attractive centres for the modern young man of China. He is returning determined to possess something more than a commission in a territorial force. He comes back a soldier with a policy, and that an international political one.² The present writer on one occasion questioned a young Chinaman in Cambridge about the nature of his political ambitions. The Chinaman replied that he wanted to go back to China to help his country to equip a strong army and navy, in order to repay Europe for the insults of a hundred years. That attitude has been met in the East by more than one eyewitness of changing China. If ever it is allowed to materialise upon the vast physical resources of China, it may become more than the boast of an ardent young man. The present war will cause us to revise many of our comfortable aphorisms about the necessities of trade and the power of economic influences to prevent war. We have been much too smug in our insular contentedness with the blessed doctrine of the solidarity of peace interests in Europe.

If great wars are to be prevented great armaments must be reduced. The hundred-million-pound army must never be allowed to get beyond the paper stage. Intervention, even if it means a temporary affront to the national dignity of a bellicose people, is a virtue when placed beside the slaughter of two millions of men in twelve months. But the better method is to prevent a nation from becoming ambitious in a military fashion. Only moral and religious influences can be effective for this purpose. There is

¹ Cf. E. J. Dingle, *China's Revolution* (1912), p. 96; cf. also Major Eben Swift, "Clark Lectures," *China and the Far East* (1910), p. 177 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 220.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

need for a sincere and self-sacrificing exposition of Christianity, not only on the part of members of the mission stations and educational establishments in the field, but upon the part of every trader and political agent who has dealings with the Chinese people. A resort to Christian motives by the negotiators of high international diplomacy is still more badly needed. Great Britain has cleared the ground before her own steps by the abolition of the opium traffic. America has shown herself disinterested by the return of the Boxer indemnities. But both nations need to revise their immigration laws. The immigration question on the Pacific littoral and in Australia requires the urgent attention of a wise government, which is prepared to let Christianity play some part towards a better solution than has been obtained at present. Home interests, and the rights of a young people struggling to build up a secure footing in a new land, have to be considered. But the dignity of a great empire, and the needs of its overcrowded population, cannot always be flouted. It is questionable whether it is moral to attempt to flout them, it is certainly not Christian, and it may be dangerous.

If there is a yellow peril at all, it is based upon China's need of emigration centres, rather than upon any real desire for national revenge against the nations of the West. It is true that much space is waiting to be occupied in the western and northern provinces of the empire. But international questions are involved in those regions. If the Chinese have a grievance against America and the British Colonies for the closed door opposed to their citizens in those lands, the ambitious designs of Russia in Mongolia, of Japan in Manchuria, and the British relations with Tibet create causes of offence on the mainland at their doors. It may be that international action alone will be able to restore completely all these areas to the control of China. But if so, then only a policy inspired by religious motives of a high order will enable the nations

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

to forego their material ambitions. That is a work for Christianity. It will entail the conversion of imperial and international diplomacy to Christian ideals. Japan presents the chief difficulty. Probably she can only be influenced by long years of patient Christian work among the Japanese people. The policy of despair towards Japan, adopted by the missionary societies, does not appear to be wise. China and India cannot be neglected. But it may be that the solution of the problem of China as an international menace, will be materially assisted by the diffusion throughout Japan of Christian ideals of life and morality, if not of religion.

No one can predict with any confidence the commercial and political future of China. All we can say is, that there are vast potentialities awaiting development. If they lie dormant the world will be robbed of great stores of material wealth. Moreover, there will be no guarantee for peace. The nations may quarrel over the moribund body of China, and tear each other in the attempt to secure the opportunity of working her resources for themselves. If they are not allowed to remain idle by the Chinese, the acquisition to the world's treasure which will follow, may be counterbalanced by the rise of an aggressive militarism more terrible than that of the Germanic empire.

So, too, the political future of the country is uncertain. There is much justification for thinking that the democratic reorganisation of the polity will be permanent. But whether a reaction will bring in a constitutional monarchy, which will fit itself into the federal system developing in the provinces, or whether a purely republican constitution will be maintained, no one can say with certainty. The only clear fact seems to be the recognition of the democratic principle by China.

Along the lines of commercial and political development Christianity has a larger part to play than trade. Commerce has operated to fire the material ambitions of China,

AFRICA AND THE EAST

and through the political complications with foreign nations created by it on the soil of China, it has been successful in rousing the patriotic instinct of the Chinese. Trade, in this way, has made China conscious of nationality. But the commerce of China can only be developed by means of political reform, in order to ensure the security of the foreign capital needed for the development of her resources. The democratic spirit of Christianity offers a stimulant to the democratic social system of China in the great task of reform. Then, when trade begins to develop in China on the foundation of a stable democracy, Christianity will have to guide the growing material power of China into disinterested channels.

CHAPTER XV

CHINA : OPIUM AND MORPHIA TRAFFIC

IN the preceding chapters the commercial relations with China have been treated from a political standpoint. But there are some questions of trade outstanding which have a more purely commercial aspect. Although the opium traffic concerned the relations of the British and Chinese Governments more directly than the different commercial companies trading between India and China, even this question was by nature more properly a problem of trade. Moreover, it is still a trade problem, and will remain so until opium-smoking has been stamped out in China and in all dependencies ruled by the western powers.

A *résumé* of the history of the opium trade will place the problem in its correct setting, both with regard to the amount of blame which is to be allocated to Great Britain for her share in the traffic, and with regard to the credit which has become her due in recent years from the steps taken to repress the opium trade between India and China.

When Robert Clive conquered Bengal, in 1758, he found the opium traffic a monopoly in the hands of a few native merchants. The trade had commenced early in the century as a means of supplying China with a useful drug. But so profitable had it become for other purposes, that the East India Company took over the monopoly. Reference has already been made to the attitude of Warren Hastings to the traffic. He denounced the use of opium in India, but defended the Chinese trade as a means of

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY

raising revenue.¹ At the close of the century (1799)² the Emperor published an edict against the use of opium in China, and entreated and threatened the British Government to bring the trade to an end. These entreaties and threats were repeated until 1838, when a letter was written by the Emperor to Queen Victoria urging her to remove the grievance. At that date the annual export to China amounted to 34,000 chests; in 1800, 2,000 chests had been sent.

No satisfactory result followed the Emperor's appeal to the West. In the following year (1839) the Chinese Commissioner Lin, was sent to Canton. He seized and destroyed 20,283 chests of opium.³ Great Britain replied by a declaration of war, which was ended (1842) by the Treaty of Nanking.⁴ The Chinese Government were inflicted with an indemnity of £4,500,000, for the expenses of the war and the value of the opium destroyed. Hong Kong became a British port, and four other ports were opened to trade.

The hand of China had been forced, but the Chinese Government still declined to legalise a traffic which was patently working serious effects upon the Chinese people.

¹ *Supra*, p. 4. Dr. Hamilton Wright says that the increase in the trade was not due to the pressure exerted by western merchants, but to the desire of the Chinese people: "Clark Lectures," *China and the Far East* (1910), p. 159.

² *Ibid.*, p. 164. The principle worked out by Hastings, Macpherson, and Cornwallis, was finally established by Bengal Regulation 6, of 1799.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 165. Between 1799 and 1839 the "higher Chinese authorities never wavered in their opposition to the spread of the opium evils and the contraband opium trade, although minor Chinese officials connived at it."

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 169. "There is a popular misconception that the Treaty of Nanking legalised the Indo-Chinese opium traffic. This is a mistake. The traffic was and remained a contraband traffic until the Treaty of Tientsin (1858). But there is no doubt that Article IV of the Nanking Treaty broke down any effectual resistance which the Chinese authorities had brought against it."

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

The duties levied by the Government created a large smuggling trade. Hong Kong became the centre of the illicit traffic in opium. In 1856 the seizure of a vessel, the *Arrow*, by the Chinese authorities, brought on the second Opium (or the *Arrow*) War. It was alleged that the vessel carried contraband. She was following the custom of sailing under the British flag. Lord Palmerston made this fact an excuse for hostilities. He was defeated in Parliament by fourteen votes, but was returned by a large majority after an appeal to the country.

The war closed with the Treaty of Tientsin (1858) by which the Chinese Government legalised the import of Indian opium, and at the same time opened certain treaty ports to the missionaries.¹ But the Chinese refused to confirm the Treaty formally at Peking. A third war followed, during which the Summer Palace at Peking was destroyed. The Treaty was then confirmed and publicly proclaimed (1860).

The unwilling attitude of China to the traffic was again made clear at the first decennial revision of the Tientsin Treaty. No reply was made to her appeal in 1868 for a prohibition of the traffic. But in 1876 the Chefoo Convention brought slight relief, by preventing the removal of opium from the bonded warehouses at the ports, until the Chinese customs and provincial duties had been paid. In 1885 the Chefoo Convention was confirmed. China obtained the right to grow opium in China. In this request she may not have been entirely disinterested, and certainly the result riveted the chain of the opium vice more closely around the people by bringing the drug so much more within reach. But at the time there was reason for giving the Chinese Government the benefit of the doubt. They hoped, by home cultivation, gradually to check the import of Indian opium, with the object, perhaps, of repressing afterwards the home trade. Anyhow, in the same year a

¹ But cf. Appendix V.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

*Commissioner was sent to India to try to persuade the Government of India gradually to bring the trade to an end.

In Great Britain, public feeling began to show signs of producing definite results in 1891. Sir Joseph Pease carried a resolution through the House of Commons by 160 votes to 130, to the effect "That the system by which Indian opium revenue is raised is morally indefensible." But a Royal Commission in 1895 defended the traffic. On May 30, 1906, a unanimous vote in the House of Commons declared: "That this House reaffirms its conviction that the Indo-Chinese opium traffic is morally indefensible." Mr. Morley stated that the Government would assist the Chinese Government in the repression of the traffic, if they made suitable proposals for that end. A communication was sent to the Chinese Government. This was followed by an Imperial Edict which ordered the repression of opium smoking and the cultivation of the poppy, within ten years. An appeal was to be made to foreign powers to assist in checking the import of opium. Mr. Morley's promise was fulfilled in 1907, when the British Government, supported by the Government of India, promised that the Indo-Chinese opium traffic should be reduced by one-tenth every year. The resolution was to take effect on January 1, 1908, and within ten years the traffic would end, provided that China carried out the terms of the imperial edict of 1907. The action of the British Government was supported by a second unanimous vote in the House in 1908 declaring that the opium-trade was "morally indefensible."

The changed attitude of Great Britain at once engaged the attention of the other powers. In 1909 an International Opium Commission was held at Shanghai.¹ The rigorous

¹ The United States Government was largely instrumental in convening the Conference. Opium was being smuggled into the Philippines from some of the British dependencies.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

action of the Chinese executive and administrative, during the previous year, in closing smoking dens and burning opium pipes, was publicly recognised. A second International Conference met at the Hague in 1912. A convention was signed by the powers represented "to pursue the progressive suppression of the abuse of opium, morphine, and cocaine." The production of these drugs in western countries was to be regulated.

In 1911 the ten years' agreement between the British and Chinese Governments was renewed, but with certain new conditions. The restrictive policy in China was to be enforced by the Central Government, the provincial authorities were not to make their own laws. The Indo-Chinese trade should cease if clear proof were forthcoming that the production of opium in China had ended. In the interim any province which produced evidence that the manufacture of the drug had already ceased, should at once be barred to the admission of Indian opium, although the condition was not yet fulfilled in the rest of China. Five provinces were declared to have fulfilled the condition in 1911.

There can be little doubt that the modification of the more unqualified terms of the agreement of 1907 was due to a sincere desire on the part of the British Government to ensure that an opportunity was not allowed, by the restrictions placed upon Indian opium, for the development of native cultivation in China. This does not imply any hesitation to accept the avowals of the Chinese authorities, though it may imply a doubt as to their capacity to repress the Chinese poppy cultivation, unassisted by external support or even pressure. That such a doubt, if any existed, was justified is proved by the fact that during the revolution of 1911-12 the cultivation of the poppy in many districts was revived. But after Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the first President, came into office, the repressive measures were again put into force. So completely was the retail sale

AFRICA AND THE EAST

of opium abolished, that at the end of 1912 the Government of India forbade any further export of opium to China.¹ It will be noted that under the original agreement of 1907, six years had yet to run before the traffic need be ended, and although the amended agreement of 1911 allowed for the cessation of the traffic before that period expired, the most optimistic reformer could hardly have hoped for a termination of the Indian trade so soon. Thus, if, in some ways, the agreement of 1911 appeared to qualify that of 1907, apparently the action of the Government of India in 1912 completely readjusted matters. In point of fact it exceeded its obligations, for although the retail traffic in Indian opium had been checked, yet in the three provinces of Kiangsi, Kiangsu, and Kwangtung, the trade was still being carried on. Anyhow, on May 13, 1913, Mr. Montagu, the Under-Secretary of State for India, was able to say that the Indo-Chinese opium traffic had come to an end. The wise condition was made that China continued her policy of repression.

A difficulty was created by the fact that large reserves of opium accumulated at the ports, owing to the restrictions imposed by the Chinese authorities in the period immediately before the Indian trade came to an end. The foreign merchants asked the Indian Government for a cessation of further export until the accumulated opium had been absorbed. There can be little doubt that the total cessation of Indian export, at the close of 1912, was influenced by this petition. Thus, though laudable, the action of the Government of India was not entirely disinterested.

The accumulated stocks formed one of the objects brought up by General Chang on his mission to this country in 1913, but no satisfactory answer was given to his petitions. The matter was left to be solved by the gradual

¹ In the same year (1912) Persian and Turkish opium was excluded from China.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

absorption of the accumulated stocks in the three provinces of Kiangsi, Kiangsu, and Kwangtung. The fact that the absorption will be completed by March 1917, perhaps justifies what seemed to be a lack of interest on the part of the British Government. It was at least the solution which had fewer difficulties than any other. Furthermore, the fact that the export of Indian opium has not been re-opened, has resulted in the difficulty of the accumulated stocks being a blessing in disguise. They have been the means of the actual fulfilment of the promise made by Mr. Montagu in May 1913.

A further difficulty which indirectly affected the Chinese problem lay in the fact that, while the Indo-Chinese opium traffic was brought to an end, trade with Shanghai, Hong Kong, the Straits Settlements, and the Malay States, was continued. Even in British India the sale of opium for purposes other than medicinal continued. A portion of the revenue continued to be derived from this trade. The large revenue receipts derived from the Indo-Chinese trade had been the chief hindrance to the abolition of the opium traffic from the days of Warren Hastings onwards. But the policy of the British Government points to the cessation of the opium trade with regions outside China at no very distant date. Already a gradual process of restriction is closing up the opium shops in Shanghai.¹ In Burma and other parts of India, the opium traffic, and especially the supply of the drug to children in the form of opium pills, is receiving the attention of the Government of India.²

In China the latest reports promise a definite termination of the opium traffic in Kiangsi, Kiangsu, and Kwangtung by March 1917. But it is probable that the vigilance of

¹ The opium "dens" in Shanghai were all closed by 1910, but the city council proceeded to issue licenses for opium "shops" in large numbers. These are now being gradually closed down.

² Cf. *supra*, pp. 143-4.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

the authorities will be required for several years to come. A widely spread habit, two centuries old, will not be stamped out in a decade. Already strong combinations are in operation for smuggling opium into China, and a recrudescence of opium-smoking has occurred in Yunnan, Kweichau, and Chungking.

Meanwhile, in the north of China, another evil is springing up. The eradication of the opium habit is being followed by the development of the morphia traffic. The position is analogous to that in India, where the efforts of reformers to check the consumption of alcoholic liquors is accompanied by an increase in the cocaine habit. But whereas the cocaine habit in India has not yet taken a firm hold upon the people, and the Government are already taking measures for its suppression, the morphia habit in northern China, especially in Manchuria, is already wide-spread.¹ The Chinese Government are alert to the evil, but their efforts to repress it are hampered by the action of traders, mainly Japanese, who elude the restrictions imposed by the Chinese and Japanese Governments. The Russian police are assisting the Chinese in the repression of the traffic, but the morphia habit is spreading from Manchuria into Shantung, and the Japanese traders who have already established the traffic in Korea are hopeful of taking advantage of the cessation of the opium trade in Fukien for the introduction of morphia into that province. So far back as the Hague International Opium Conference of 1911-12, Sir William J. Collins, M.D., the British Plenipotentiary, said that "China is being drenched with morphia . . . it is incredible that anything approaching the amount could possibly be devoted to legitimate

¹ Morphia was first introduced into China in 1892. By 1902 the consumption was 195,000 oz. (sufficient for 300,000,000 injections). In 1903 the Chinese Government imposed a duty of 200 per cent. *ad valorem*. The import fell to 54 oz. by 1905, but the fall was due to the fact that the supply was being maintained by smuggling.—(*Ency. Brit.*, 11th edit.)

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

purposes.”¹ It is said that in certain areas coolies are to be seen “covered all over with needle-punctures.”² An injection of the drug can be obtained for three or four cents (one penny). In Newchang 2,000 victims of the morphia habit died in the winter of 1914-15. Morphia carries off its victims far more rapidly than opium. So far as the Chinese and Japanese authorities are concerned the evil, though terrible in promise, has not yet reached the stage beyond which suppression will be difficult. But the eastern governments must have the support of the western peoples. Morphia is not yet manufactured in any appreciable quantities in the East, and certainly, even Japan cannot yet manufacture the hypodermic injectors by means of which the drug is received. The bulk of the manufacture takes place in England, Germany, and Austria. Formerly the trade was carried on by German vessels going to Japan, from whence it was sent to China, but now supplies are sent by registered post through Siberia. In this traffic two firms in Edinburgh,³ and one in London are engaged. The trade is carried on through Japanese agents. The Board of Trade Returns show that the export of morphia from Great Britain to the East has risen enormously during the last few years—

1911	5½ tons
1912	7½ tons
1913	11¼ tons
1914	14 tons ⁴

The *Pekin and Tientsin Times* of August 27, 1915, says: “The only cure is to obtain the co-operation of the Foreign Governments, particularly of those where morphia is known to be manufactured.” This is the obvious method

¹ Leaflet of the Society for the Prevention of the Opium Traffic.

² *Ibid.*

³ Cf. *North China Herald*, Sept. 4, 1915, which states that three British firms exported 4½ tons to Japan in 1913.

⁴ 200,000,000 grains. Three grains form a single injection. Morphine can be obtained more cheaply than opium.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

of dealing with the evil. The West, and in particular Great Britain, has only recently attempted to make amends for the opium traffic, and indeed, the stains of that trade can never be entirely removed from our national record. But in the morphia traffic there is threatened an evil which will be far more appalling if allowed to spread. No hindrances of the nature of revenue, which cannot be lost without serious difficulty to the administration, are concerned. Political relationships are not involved. The question is purely commercial, involving only the adequate regulation of the home production and export of morphia. It is at present a mere detail of administrative control. The larger question of international action may present more difficulty, but before the outbreak of war, steps were being taken to secure an international control of trade in opium, morphia, and cocaine. The war has hindered developments for the present, but an organisation¹ already exists for pursuing this object.

One warning note is sounded by commerce herself. The opium traffic, and still more the morphia traffic, are inimical to the best interests of trade. Labouring under an absurd fallacy, the British Government were in the habit of instructing their representatives to urge China to allow the unrestricted importation of opium, on the ground that trade generally would be fostered. It is true that a momentary impetus may have been given to commercial relations with China, but the impetus was confined mainly to the encouragement of western trading methods and habits among the Chinese. The ultimate effect could only be bad. A traffic which ruined the mental and physical qualities of a nation possessing the vast natural resources buried away in China, was robbing the world of a magnificent commerce in the best objects of human and natural production. No surer method for keeping the coal and iron resources of China untouched could have been

¹ Cf. The Conference at the Hague in 1912.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY

devised, than to ruin Chinese physique and enterprise by the encouragement of opium smoking. The West need not marvel that China has been compelled to resort to foreign capital in a manner unknown to the Japanese. That necessity has been largely due to the fact that through the opium curse she has lost the power of self-development without foreign assistance. So, too, the political complications which have arisen out of the foreign loans and concessions are directly connected with the economic and moral crime committed against China by the opium trade.

So far as Christianity is concerned, action can be more profitably taken at home than in China, though missionaries can always find cases where Temperance teaching may save individuals. The opium traffic has been checked largely by the efforts of the "Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade,"¹ which has operated mainly by negotiations with the India Office and the Foreign Office. The society is carrying on similar work in connection with the morphia traffic. But there is need for the different branches of the Christian Church to follow up the education of public opinion, in which the society is also engaged. The freedom which allows three British firms to supply China with morphia for illicit purposes is a condemnation of English Christianity. It is true that the trading instinct and spirit is the most difficult of all the manifestations of mammon which the Church has to face, but it is not clear that she has always condemned where condemnation was needed, or taught where enlightenment might have helped, or learned where her own knowledge was sadly deficient. Rubber-atrocities, scandals on the cocoa-plantations, the abuse of the liquor traffic, are all manifestations of the same evil. Western commerce has yet to adopt the Christian ideal. But has the Church done all she might to help it to realise the ideal?

¹ Secretary: Rev. G. A. Wilson, 181 Queen Victoria Street, E.C. Cf. the society's organ, *The Friend of China*.

CHAPTER XVI

INTER-RACIAL MARRIAGE

ON the borderland between the great races of the earth, where the white Caucasian comes in contact with the Negro, the brown Caucasian, the Mongol and the Amerindian, a grave problem has been created by the fusion of the white with the coloured races. In Africa and India the question is especially difficult. The white man has mingled his blood with that of the native races, and then, like Amnon, in the domestic history of the house of David, has turned upon his action, and scorned the victims of his blandishments. That constitutes the problem: What is to become of the "coloured people" in Africa, and the great Eurasian community in India? No hostility was originally shown by the members of the native races, to these half-castes, until the exclusive attitude of the white people caused them, from sheer self-respect, to refuse recognition to a community tainted by the blood of the white man, who regarded the fruit of his connections with native women with a contempt even greater than that which he showed for the pure-blooded native.

In China the difficulty has not been so great. The fusion between the Caucasian and the Mongol has been almost entirely confined to the treaty ports, where the population is largely cosmopolitan, and where distinctive national prejudices tend to disappear. Moreover, the racial assertiveness of the Chinese has never been broken by conquest to anything like the same extent as that which has cowed the spirit of the Indian or the African. The Chinese has never been made to feel conscious of

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

inherent inferiority before the white man. Hence, though regarding the connections between white men and yellow women with disfavour, he has been able to return contempt for contempt. This result does not altogether solve the problem of the half-caste in China and Japan. But it reduces the friction between the two races, and that is one half of the problem in Africa and India.

Has the white man any adequate cause for the expression of this contempt? If the Mendelian law of heredity controls the relations between the different races of the human species, there can be no biological objection to the fusion of different races. On the contrary, the future development of strong and vigorous racial types depends upon periodical crossing between the different races.

The difficulty of experiment upon human beings, owing to the length of time which must elapse before a human generation becomes reproductive, has hitherto prevented any satisfactory scientific results from being attained. But by the preservation of the careful records of one investigator, who in a lifetime can only deal with two or three human generations, it should be possible for succeeding experimenters to maintain the chain of investigation.

The Mendelian law has established the fact that, by crossing two species in animal or plant life, not only can both the original strains be reproduced untarnished by contact with the other, but the original strains are made more vigorous in the process. The rapid and fertile reproduction of the lower forms of life has allowed experimenters to produce conclusive results. But successful results have already been obtained by applying similar methods to higher forms of animal life, where the interval between infancy and puberty is longer, and where the offspring is confined to one or two individuals only. Mendelian investigation is a comparatively easy matter where the offspring consists of four or more individuals. It becomes difficult where offspring are only produced

AFRICA AND THE EAST

singly or in twins. But such experiments as those carried out upon the King's black cattle at Windsor, prove that the operation of the law in the higher animal forms can be observed. Moreover, the success of these experiments in the higher forms of animal life creates a strong presumption that the Mendelian law controls the relations between the different races of the human species.

Indeed, evidence is not entirely wanting to prove that the crossing of the different races does produce definite physical and mental results in the succeeding generations.¹ The extraordinary physical beauty of quadroons and octoroons in America has often been observed. Similar results have been noticed in Brazil. It is more than probable that the decisive physical and mental vitality of the ancient Mediterranean races was the result of fusion between an immigrant people from the north descending upon an older and more civilised settled population. The composite race which appeared from the union possessed new vitality and vigour. Certainly the preservation of European civilisation, when the Mediterranean peoples of historical times were at the point of decay, resulted from fresh incursions out of the north, followed by a new race fusion.

It may be a fact that these movements were concerned with the different branches of the same Caucasian race, though in the case of the earlier migrations into the Greek and Italian peninsulas the point is not at all clear. The researches of Professor Sergi suggest an intimate connection between the Mediterranean littoral and the shores of North Africa. It is probable that the ancient Pelasgii were of African origin, or at least, the descendants of the parent race which peopled northern Africa as well as southern Europe. In this case there was a real fusion between two different races, a fusion which must have been responsible

¹ Prof. Earl Finch: Report of First Universal Races Congress (1911), p. 108 ff.; Dr. Jean Baptiste de Lacerda: *Ibid.*, p. 377 ff.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

for some of the magnificent results which accrued to Greek and Italian civilisation.

But if most of the results at present under observation have followed upon the union between different tribes of the same race, no conclusive argument can be made against the possibility of similar results appearing from the contact between different races. The plain fact stands, that the different human races are fertile when crossed. According to biological canons, they therefore belong to one family. So that if we find that the union of two kindred tribes produces beneficial results, it should follow that the union of tribes which are further apart will produce results at least equally good, and, if there is any truth in biological teaching, the results will be even more beneficial than those which have been observed in the case of the more closely related tribes. The mistake has usually been made of regarding the great races as different species, and therefore mutually and naturally exclusive. It is true that a cross between a horse and an ass produces a mule, which is not fertile. But no instance has yet appeared where the offspring of the members of two different human races has not been completely fertile. In most cases the so-called hybrid form has been more fertile than the parent stocks.

There is much evidence of a biological character, for believing that the different races of the human family belong to one species, and are descended from a common parentage. There is no reason for supposing that they have developed directly, the one from the other, or that the different types, at present in existence, represent different stages in racial evolution. They have started from a common origin, but have followed distinct lines of development, so that when an attempt is made to trace back their biological history, the lines of development are seen to converge upon the centre of origin. In the earlier stages, they were subject to much mutual interaction, but when

AFRICA AND THE EAST

geographical dispersion became greater, and particularly when geographical and linguistic barriers began to appear, the special types common to the modern racial divisions rapidly hardened. But the biological integrity of the human species was not thereby impaired, a fact which is emphasised by the universal fertility existing between the different branches of the human race.

Secondly, when the biological integrity of the human race is established, we are justified in hoping that Mendel's law will be found to be in operation in the relations between the different races.

Thus the white man's objection to connubial connections with women of coloured races, and to the children who spring from these unions, has no scientific justification. If Nature's law be followed, the connection brings good results. The objection must have some other foundation, valid, perhaps, but difficult to justify completely, because lacking the support of biological law.

It is obvious that difference in the degree of civilisation is mainly responsible for the exclusive attitude of the white races. Superiority on the battlefield, and in the making of tools and weapons, is the first cause of the appearance of racial pride. Later comes superiority in the construction of buildings, and in the art of government. It is not until the mental and æsthetic faculties of one race have been decisively developed in advance of the processes of thought and the recognition of natural beauty in other races, that any objection to connubial connections on account of colour appear. Exclusiveness certainly existed in the earlier stages of civilisation, but not on account of colour. Even in historical times, women of brown skin have appeared in the harems of the most critical of white potentates. It may be difficult to prove that Negro women were equally welcome, but the difference is again due to the degree of civilisation reached in early historical times. If brown women alone were welcome, the colour-

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

bar was developing, the black had already been shut out, and the brown were to follow. The process of exclusion narrowed down from the community to the individual. In the early stages, superiority in battle created contempt for the conquered people as a race, but the victors were always ready to take to themselves the most favoured individuals from the conquered community.

Some reason must be offered for the continuance of the process. It is found in the fact that members of the superior civilisation discovered that the representatives of inferior peoples, whom they had received into their harems were not able to keep pace with their own development. The rate of progress in the arts and tastes of civilised life developed with increasing rapidity. That is to say, the rate of progress was more rapid the more advanced a race became. It was a geometrical progression. Gradually the attraction of mere physical beauty in the women of inferior races was supplemented by a desire for the inclusion of other qualities. These qualities were only to be found in the women of the superior race. The absence of these qualities was associated with women of a coloured race. Hence a colour-bar slowly developed, with increasing intensity, as the difference between the superior and inferior civilisation was realised. Nature imposes no barrier, civilisation has imposed one. It is a matter for sociologists to settle.

One fact in the Mendelian process may lend some justification to the exclusive attitude adopted by civilisation. When two stocks are crossed, one proportion of the offspring is true to one parent strain, and breeds true to it; another proportion is true to the other parent stock, and breeds true to it; while a third proportion is proved to be hybrid, and permanently to breed a hybrid type. By the control which man can establish over the breeding of animal forms, it is possible to prevent the hybrid offspring from propagating themselves. But this cannot be ensured

AFRICA AND THE EAST

when the hybrids are human beings. In the first place, it will be an exceedingly difficult matter to prove the absence of hybridity, and even so the propagation of the hybrid cannot be restricted.

It is the hybrid type produced from the contact between the different races which constitutes a menace to the progress of civilisation. Thus the sociologist, and indeed the biologist is compelled to decide which of two benefits are to be retained for the general progress of man, whether the physical development of the human race is to be strengthened and reinvigorated by a judicious commingling of people of all colours, or whether the moral and mental development of man, which we call civilisation, is to be preserved by carefully excluding the contamination threatened by the inferior physical as well as mental and moral capacity of the hybrid types. Indeed, the physical development, also, of the pure types, is not unthreatened by the hybrid types, though the danger is greater to the mental and moral faculties.

One or two further qualifications of the general proposition of the superiority of the white race have to be made. To what extent has the integrity of the great dominant races been maintained? Upon the answer to this question depends the claim made by the races which are superior sociologically, to superiority biologically, that is, to superiority in physical structure as well as in type of civilisation.

Sir Harry Johnston has traced Negro blood across India and the Malay States to Polynesia, but he makes the still more startling announcement that it appears in certain parts of Europe. "Recent discoveries made in the vicinity of the principality of Monaco, and others in Italy and western France . . . would seem to reveal . . . the actual fact that many thousand years ago a negroid race had penetrated through Italy into France, leaving traces at the present day in the physiognomy of the peoples of

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

southern Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, and western France, and even in the western parts of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. There are even at the present day some examples of the Keltiberian peoples of western Scotland, southern and western Wales, southern and western Ireland, of distinctly negroid aspect, and in whose ancestry there is no indication whatever of any connection with the West Indies or with modern Africa. Still more marked is this feature in the peoples of southern and western France and of the other parts of the Mediterranean already mentioned.”¹ If we can accept this statement, it appears that Negro blood is present in some of the most progressive peoples of the Caucasian race.

The further question then arises as to whether any proportion of their superior capacity for civilisation is due to the admixture of foreign blood? If so, what is that proportion? At present the question cannot be answered, but it should cause us to pause before we condemn utterly the fusion of white and black races, and it may compel us to adopt a more modified view of the effects of hybrid influence among the pure types. The presence of negroid strains has not been detrimental to the development of the European races where they appear. It is also probable that the development of European civilisation has been influenced by the fresh vigour brought to the pure European types after fusion with the negroid: that is, if the Mendelian law operates among human beings.

Another qualification arises from the fact that on the borders of civilisation, at those points where the Caucasian race impinges itself upon Negro, Mongolian, and Dravidian, the half-caste children of the unions between white fathers and black or yellow or brown mothers are not allowed a fair opportunity for developing physically or morally. Outcasted by the white population, they are spurned by

¹ Report of the First Universal Races Congress (1911), p. 330. *Contemporary Review* (August 1911).

AFRICA AND THE EAST

the native people, and subjected to every kind of physical and moral danger. It is unjust to assume that the degraded types, often met with in these regions, are characteristic of the results of such unions. Little opportunity is given for their best potentiality to develop, while every cause which can operate to make an individual physically and morally dangerous to the community is present.

Not only so, but the white parents of such children are often men of a low class physically and morally, the off-scourings of the white population of civilised communities, men who can hand on only the worst qualities of civilised life—unless we can trust in the hopeful conclusion to be drawn from Weissman's teaching, to the effect that it is a most difficult matter to influence the germ-plasm. This theory teaches that acquired characters are not transmitted, and if they are, there are at least as many saints as sinners in our ancestry, who have an equal chance of influencing our actions.

Even so, if acquired characters are not transmitted, they are imitated. Children born of low-class whites, are brought up by the native mothers, in a condition where the vices of the native races are reinforced by the vices copied from the whites. No fair estimate can be formed of hybrid types trained in such an atmosphere. To give them a fair test they should be brought up amid the best surroundings of either white or native civilisation. Indeed, when half-castes are allowed to mingle with white people with some measure of equality in treatment and respect, excellent results are obtained. The half-caste negroids of Brazil have fully repaid the confidence placed in them by Spanish and Portuguese parents. So excellent have been the results that they are being rapidly absorbed into the white race.¹ Even in North America, where the Negros and negroids are allowed far less favourable treatment, many

¹ Dr. Jean Baptiste de Lacerda: Report of First Universal Races Congress (1911), p. 377 ff.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

excellent examples of the capacity for development within the hybrid are to be found.¹

Very little opportunity has been afforded for observing the effects of racial crossing where the father is a native parent. In such cases the white mother has generally thrown in her lot with the native people, or lives in a vicious moral atmosphere.² The effects of environment are, therefore, likely to crowd out any biological advantage gained by the process.

Undoubtedly a great biological gulf exists between the white Caucasian and the Negro. But although it is not possible to argue that the white race has developed from the black by a selective process—there are no stairs of ascent from the one to the other—nevertheless there seem to be stepping-stones across the Mongolian, Australoid, and Dravidian races to the Negro. The white man does not possess the same feeling of repugnance to these intermediate races. This attitude is justified biologically by the fact that members of the Australoid, Mongolian, and the hybrid Dravidian (Caucasian and Australoid), and Amerindian (Caucasian and Mongolian) races are more easily assimilated by the white races than the Negroes. "For instance, a German planter in Samoa might have children by a native woman, a Frenchman likewise in Tahiti, and an Englishman by a New Zealand Maori, and their male offspring not find any sensible colour bar standing in the way of their marrying in turn white women of social status equivalent to their own."³ The difficulty of absorption becomes greater the more an approach is made to the Negro. The Dravidian peoples of India contain a strong

¹ Dr. W. E. B. Dubois: Report of First Universal Races Congress (1911), p. 348 ff.

² Referring to crossing between the White man and Red Indians, Dr. Eastman says: "The common slur which attributes to the mixed blood 'the vices of both races and the virtues of neither' is absolutely unjust": *Ibid.*, p. 375. Prof. Earl Finch: *Ibid.*, p. 108 ff.

³ Sir Harry Johnston: *Ibid.*, p. 329.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

Negro strain. Consequently the white man feels more difficulty in tolerating a Eurasian than a cross between a European and an Amerindian, a Chinese, or a Maori.¹ But the existence of a chain in the points of contact across to the Negro creates a strong presumption that the difference between Caucasian and Negro is one of degree, not of kind.

Thus on biological grounds the problem created by the contact of the West with the native races in Africa and the East is largely artificial, and rests upon mere racial prejudice. The white man need not be ashamed of his half-caste offspring. On sociological grounds the problem is more difficult because of the evil effects upon civilisation produced by a half-caste community deficient in moral character and principle. The condition of the half-caste may be due to factors which are not natural, that is, not biological. It may be due to the abuse of the standards of civilisation on the part of the white man. But the plain fact stands that the half-caste peoples do constitute a menace: first, by their mere presence; secondly, because of the resentment they arouse in the native races.

What is the solution of the difficulty? If left to herself Nature will find her own remedy. The half-castes tend to disappear if given sufficient opportunity by one of the parent stocks.² This is in accordance with Darwin's theory of the disappearance of intermediate types. The Negroes and negroids are disappearing in Brazil. In Portuguese East Africa, where the Portuguese have no objection to connections with native women, the half-

¹ Sir Harry Johnston: Report of First Universal Races Congress (1911), p. 329.

² They become absorbed by one or another of the parent stocks. But Prof. Earl Finch has produced evidence to show that half-castes are often well able to maintain separate existence, though the cases he mentions are those where a dominant stock is not present in large numbers to absorb the half-castes, or where the number of half-castes is so large that neither parent stock has had time to prove whether it can absorb them or not.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

breeds are absorbed by the Negro stocks, though the intimate connection between the two races has been alleged as a cause of the unprogressive condition of the dependency.¹ Even the more securely fixed hybrid Amerindians are rapidly becoming extinct. Nothing can save the North American Indian. He will meet with the fate of the Maori, and the Tasmanian, two other hybrid stocks.² In the case of the Amerindian the decline seems due to racial exhaustion, and proves that if left to themselves the hybrid races will disappear, though the process will be quicker where they can be absorbed by a dominant race. Their purpose in the life-history of man is not to assume a permanent place among the races of the earth. They have performed their mission by being part of a process of crossing between dominant stocks, which has been the means of renewing the vitality and vigour of these races. They are the inevitable hybrid results which accompany the process, and, like all hybrids, will disappear sooner or later. Some strong factor derived from one or the other of the dominant races, or a combination of such factors, may enable them to remain long on the face of the earth. This seems to be especially true of those races which are the fruit of first crossing between two dominant races, uninfluenced by any other stock. Thus the Dravidian and Amerindian have lasted longer than the mulattoe or the Grikwa can hope to last. With regard to the Grikwa their stronger assertiveness in comparison with that of other negroid half-castes, is due to the fact that Bushman and Hottentot, from whom they sprang by Dutch and English parents, had preserved more completely a more ancient type, and to the fact that they have been segregated more completely from the other Negro and

¹ James Bryce, *Impressions of South Africa* (1898), p. 123.

² On the other hand, the decline of the aborigines of Australia may be due to the fact that the stock has never been braced by foreign blood on Mendelian principles.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

negroid peoples of South Africa. The fact that they have survived while two of their parent stocks have disappeared, is the result of their new Caucasian strain, which has bolstered up for a time the process of decay which has already removed the Bushman and Hottentot. But their hybrid nature will end sooner or later either in absorption or decline.

A more urgent problem is that of the modern half-castes in Africa and India, and to a far less extent in China. Can the white races do anything to lessen the difficulties created by their presence?

It has been pointed out that Nature will supply her own remedy if left to pursue her own course. But the white races can interfere, and hinder the process. Little difficulty need be experienced from the native races, if the white races accept their responsibility.¹ If the biological development of the Caucasian and Negro races demands a continuous interchange of blood, the end will be achieved with least danger to civilisation by crossing either of these dominant races with the representatives of ancient hybrid races which contain Caucasian and Negroid strains. The Dravidian will form the true link between the two races. In certain sections of them the original Caucasian and Australoid elements have been reinforced by Negro blood. Hence the Dravidian contains the elements needed by both Caucasian and Negro. Moreover, the fact that all three races belong to one empire should ease the political difficulties attaching to such fusions.

In Africa itself the intercourse between white and black men should cease, but it can take place in southern India. On the other hand, it is not necessary to transport the African to India for this purpose. The Indians have

¹ Pastor Mojola Agbebi, Lagos: "No Tropical African pure and simple is inclined to marry a European or appreciates mixed marriages . . . segregation . . . is not distasteful to the un-Europeanised African."—Report of First Universal Races Congress (1911), p. 344.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY

already learned to migrate to Africa. East Indian immigration, which may be inimical to the interests of the white men in South Africa, is consequently beneficial to the Negro races, especially if the immigrants come from northern India where the Caucasian element is stronger.

But to prevent the connections between white men and black women in Africa will make moral demands upon the white community which can only be fulfilled by the aid of religion. Here is the opportunity for Christianity. Through work done by the Church at home in training the young European before he goes to Africa, and abroad, by providing him with those ministrations of religion which are too often completely absent, Christianity can exercise a direct influence in solving the problem of the half-caste.

So, too, in India, where connections between white and brown races may be desirable on biological grounds, the influence of Christianity will be needed, not merely in checking abuses by the teaching of religious restraint, but by extending to the native races and to the offspring of the two races that spirit of brotherhood which alone can render such connections tolerable. For if the white races are to seek improvement by contact with the coloured races, the same privilege must be accorded to the native races. If white women are willing, their connection with the native races must be tolerated. Nothing but the spirit of universal brotherhood can make such connections really fruitful of good results.

The same argument applies to the hybrid offspring of these unions, whether the male parent be white or brown. The Eurasian, so long as he exists, and is not absorbed by either one race or the other, must be treated, if not as a social equal by the members of either dominant race, at least as a man and a brother in the great Christian community.

CHAPTER XVII

THE PROBLEM OF RELIGIONS

THE present condition of the religious problem in the East is not primarily the result of missionary propaganda. If the Christian Church had made no attempt to extend its borders into the eastern hemisphere, the religions of the East must still have been profoundly influenced by western civilisation. There is a religious problem distinct from a missionary problem. It is true that the development of religion in India, China, and Japan, will be directly influenced by Christian missions, and with increasing effect as time passes away; moreover, the East cannot avoid taking notice of Christian enterprise. But in the main, missionary propaganda is the affair of the western nations. Full justice has been done to this aspect of the problem by an abundant and growing missionary literature. On the other hand, there is an eastern aspect which must not be neglected. For lack of more frequent attention to the problem from the eastern standpoint missionary enterprise has suffered. On questions of trade and politics and social morality the claims of the East have been considered. The eastern point of view has been repeatedly, and with increasing emphasis, kept to the fore. But in matters of religion the West has been far too prone to assume that there was only one view to take, to the exclusion of eastern sentiment, and the claim of the great religions of the East to be heard on matters concerning eastern life. When the effects of the contact between East and West are being considered we must forget that

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

we are missionaries, and try to realise the thoughts of eastern men.

But when this caution has been uttered an important qualification has to be made. We cannot escape the consideration of Christian influences. Western civilisation is the amalgam of three elements—Christianity, Hellenism, and the legal concepts of the Roman Empire. The principal element is Christianity. It is that which has given to the West its church and type. In other terms it is its inspiration, its “*élan vital*.” Any consideration, then, of the effect of western civilisation upon the East is bound to take account of Christianity. But the future history of foreign missions will depend largely upon whether or not the Church is ready to learn the lessons which the contact of West and East already has to offer.

Oriental life has been shaken to its foundations by European factors. Unless the religions of the East were moribund and devoid of all interest and inspiration for eastern peoples, they must have felt the impact, as wave after wave of European influence swept over eastern life. Not that the religions of the East have never felt movement and change. It is a popular misconception to suppose that the religious systems of India, China, and Japan were formed and hardened into a permanent shape long ago. On the contrary, they have been subject to constant development, to adaptation and adjustment through all the long course of their history. Hinduism has been faced with problems created by the rise of Buddhism, and later by Jainism and the religion of the Sikhs, and by the coming of Islam. The ancient Taoist system of China has lived on beside Confucianism, Buddhism, and Muhammadanism. So, too, in Japan, Shintoism has more than held its own against the encroachment of Buddhism. Moreover, the pressure has not been solely external. Within these great systems there have been reformations and developments. The problem of the sects is not entirely a western pheno-

AFRICA AND THE EAST

menon. Different aspects of Hinduism have been emphasised by the devotees of Vishnu, Siva, Brahma, Rama, and Krishna, long before the Samaj movement. Buddhism to-day has twelve sects in Japan.¹ The Shin Shiu sect, which was founded a hundred years before the appearance of the Franciscans in Europe, about the time that the Benedictine movement began, is also interesting because it teaches a doctrine similar to the Lutheran theory of Justification by Faith. Muhammadanism is divided into the Sunni and Shiah churches with several subdivisions.

The long history of movement, change, and development, a history as varied and vivid as the story of Christianity in Europe, should prevent any hasty conclusion as to the near or distant decay of the great religions of the East. There was a point in the history of Hinduism when close observers would have said that the inspiration and existence of the Brahmans had come to an end. But Hinduism learned from the Buddha, and after entrenching herself against the new teaching by comprehending some of its ideals and spirit, started off again on a new career.² So, too, it survived the shock of the Mogul invasions, and to-day Hinduism continues to make converts, whereas Muhammadanism is almost at a standstill in India, as a proselytising force. Still more was it possible to claim that Buddhism had conquered Japan. Into the art of government, into ethics and education, into learning and industry and art³ the Buddhist spirit was infused, so that it was possible for a modern European, naturalised in Japan, to say: "As a moral force Buddhism strengthened authority and cultivated submission, by its capacity to inspire larger hopes and fears than the more ancient religion could create. As a teacher, it educated the race, from the highest to the humblest, both in ethics and

¹ Prof J. Estlin Carpenter, *Hibbert Journal* (1905-6).

² J. N. Farquhar, *Contemporary Review* (May 1908).

³ Prof. M. Ancsaki, *Hibbert Journal* (1905-6).

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

æsthetics. All that can be classed under the name of art in Japan was either introduced or developed by Buddhism; and the same may be said regarding nearly all Japanese literature possessing real literary quality—excepting some Shinto rituals, and some fragments of archaic poetry. Buddhism introduced drama, the higher forms of poetical composition, and fiction, and history, and philosophy. All the refinements of Japanese life were of Buddhist introduction, and at least a majority of its diversions and pleasures.”¹ A heavy blow was aimed at its influence by the Roman Catholic missions of the sixteenth century, a blow under which it seemed to stagger, but it was able to bring about the ruin of Jesuit and Franciscan, and pass on to another phase of influence and power. Yet, in 1871 the ancient spirit of Shinto arose from its seclusion and swept away the privileges of Buddhism as a state-endowed religion. Buddhism became the tolerated system of an alien religion. The religious factor in the renaissance of Japan was Shinto and not the Buddha. Similarly in China, in 1906, an imperial decree attempted to restore to Confucius the position of pre-eminence which was threatened by the influence of the West, and especially by the new moral teaching of Christianity. Like Shintoism, the system of Confucius had had its struggle with Buddhism; like Hinduism, it had had its struggle with Islam; and like both it is to-day reorganising itself against the introduction of Christianity. What is true of the native religions of India, China, and Japan, is equally true of the immigrant systems of Buddha and Muhammad. They have been able to resist change and innovation, and the period of their decline is not yet in sight.

There must be no hasty conclusion drawn from the apparent disintegration resulting from the new influences at play in the East. It is possible to point to certain symptoms and to say that decay has already set in, and

¹ Lafcadio Hearn, *Japan : An Interpretation* (1905), p. 224.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

that the future lies with Christianity. But although western observers, supported by the opinion of some eastern converts, may say it is so, the long and varied history of these venerable creeds and philosophies should cause us to hesitate, and say, "We think, but we do not know."

What is the effect of western civilisation upon the religions of the East? For the present, all that can be said definitely is that there is a moving in the minds of religious Orientals, a great spirit of discontent, of discontent not so much with the form and content of their old faiths, as with the influence which those faiths are exerting upon the modern life of the East, and the factors which they are contributing towards the regeneration of society. The Oriental learns that change produced by contact with the West will be abiding, he realises that his religion is bound to be affected, but he is not yet satisfied that his religion has made any adequate response to the new conditions, much less is he convinced that he need abandon it.

In consequence, his discontent takes the form of an attitude of inquiry. In some cases allegiance to the old faith seems to have been abandoned altogether. In reality loyalty is only suspended. It may at any moment be completely thrown aside, on the other hand it may, with equal probability, be reasserted.

In some cases there is an apparent movement towards material conceptions and ambitions, accompanied by a profession of agnosticism. In Japan, and to a less extent in India, there has arisen an industrialism,¹ which threatens to introduce into Japanese and Indian society some of the worst features of industrialism in the West. Some of the religious spirit of the East is doubtless becoming absorbed by this movement. But it is not clear to what

¹ Lafcadio Hearn, *Japan: An Interpretation* (1905), p. 485 ff.; cf. A. Yusuf Ali, *Life and Labour in India* (1907), p. 187.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

extent this is due to dissatisfaction with the old spiritual notions of life, or how far it is due to the undoubted fascination which the prospect of wealth holds out to the Oriental as well as to the Occidental. By the way, it may be pointed out that although the Oriental is ready to get wealth, it remains to be seen whether, when the glamour of the initial appeal wears off, he will be content to get it by the hustling competitive methods of the West. Some would say that if he is not prepared for this, then will the East be bled to death by exploitation, at the hands of western commerce. In other words, to save itself the East must descend to western methods. But that is another problem, involving, also, the ethical responsibility of the West.

The presence of an agnostic view of religion is accompanied by some symptoms of despair which are not new in the history of unbelief. Suicides have been recorded among the students at Tokio. A spirit of pessimism and moral apathy has already received the attention of the Japanese Minister of Education.¹ It is true that parallels can be found in the history of the Roman Republic and of the Roman Empire during stages of transition, and in modern Europe since the changes produced in accustomed habits and processes of thought by new philosophic and scientific discovery. But the phenomenon is problematical. How far is it due to the sudden upheaval of normal conditions of thought and life? How far is it due to an inherent failure on the part of the old religion to meet present needs, and how far to a failure on the part of the victims to discover whether the old religion is really worked out? Anyhow, although the inference seems to point against religion, the question cannot be satisfactorily answered until another, and far more widely spread, tendency has been examined and adequately appraised.

If the East presents symptoms of despair which seem

Guy Hayler, *Prohibition Advance in All Lands* (1914), p. 189.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

to exhibit distrust of its old religious ideals, it can also show parallel movements of hope, if not of development, which make impossible a final conclusion at present. There has been revival, active and aggressive revival, on the part of every great religious system in vogue throughout the East. It is this fact which lends justification to the view that the loyalty of other sections of the Eastern peoples is only temporarily suspended from the ancient systems.

In Hinduism the earlier reforming movement of the Brahmo Samaj, has been outdistanced by the Arya Samaj, but both have been left behind by the Neo-Hindu movement headed by Mrs. Besant. Even the religion of the Sikhs, which at one time seemed to be at the point of absorption by the comprehensive capacity of Hinduism, has experienced a revival, and is again making converts.¹ Similar movements are taking place within Buddhism. For a thousand years, the Buddhist faith had ceased to be propagandist. But since 1895 it has been making new converts, especially in Japan, Burma, and Ceylon.² A new literature is being created, with the object of bringing Hinduism abreast of modern philosophy. Shintoism and Confucianism have revealed similar signs of renewed life, though in these cases the revival has taken place mainly under the guidance of official inspiration. In 1871 Shinto was restored to its old precedence by the disestablishment of Buddhism. In 1890 an imperial edict set up the old standard of Shinto ethics. So, in China, the imperial edict of 1906 attempted to do the same for the ethics of Confucius.

The movement among the religions of the East has been characterised by two marked tendencies. In the

¹ F. H. Brown, *Nineteenth Century* (March 1914).

² W. S. Lilly, *Fortnightly Review* (Aug. 1905). F. H. Brown, *Nineteenth Century* (March 1914). The South India Sakya Buddhist Society is making progress.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

first place, there has been a policy of re-definition and conservation.¹ The fundamental doctrines have been restated, the limitations of the respective systems have been more clearly defined. Secondly, an aggressive movement towards the western nations has been initiated. Both Hinduism and Buddhism have embarked upon a missionary propaganda towards the West. Perhaps no better sign of the vitality of these systems could be forthcoming. It is true that their defensive armour has been pierced.² Philanthropic methods, copied from Christianity, have been introduced. Attention is being paid to the emancipation of women. Caste is being broken, the outcast and depressed peoples are being cared for. Western conceptions of thought and knowledge are no longer banned from discussion. But it is a mistake to assume that the indirect influences exerted by western civilisation and Christianity are alone to be credited with so many victories among the religions of the East. Such results were inevitable, in spite of the West and Christianity. They are a sign of life, not of death in the eastern systems. The religious men and philosophers of the East are learning from the West and Christianity, but they are not necessarily abandoning their allegiance to the older faiths.

For this reason we cannot with confidence predict that the signs of materialism, unbelief, with their accompanying phenomenon of despair, are indicative of decline and decay. Not until the movements, which are at once progressive and conservative, have worked themselves out, will it be safe to argue that despair and pessimism are the heralds of dissolution, as was apparently the case in the later civilisation of the Roman Empire. As regards that comparison, it must be remembered that the religious system of the empire was bereft of spirituality, while its metaphysic, never indigenous and never acclimatised, was

¹ N. Macnicol, *Hibbert Journal* (1907-8).

² J. N. Farquhar, *Contemporary Review* (May 1908).

AFRICA AND THE EAST

worn out.¹ On the contrary, the religions of India are still instinct with spiritual vitality, and their philosophy is offering food for the speculation of the West. The case is less strong in Japan and China. Shintoism resembles the Emperor Worship of Rome, and like Confucianism it is, at its best, little more than a system of ethics. But the powerful forces of Buddhism are operating in both countries, while the ancient system of ancestor worship holds the minds of simple people.

One other result of the influence of western civilisation upon the East calls for passing reference. While some have given way to materialism or despair, while a vastly greater number have set themselves to revive their old faiths, a few have voluntarily turned towards Christianity. This is a small development, independent of missionary effort. It is the result of the appearance of new ideas and hopes before the vision of the East. But it is yet too small to allow for any conclusion or final results. It must not be confused with the mass movements towards Christianity taking place in southern India and Korea. These are directly the achievements of missionary enterprise. They have been won among the peasant classes who are not yet open to influences of the West.

What is to be the attitude of Christianity to present conditions in the East? If the conclusions already made are sound, the West has to deal not with a number of decaying faiths—not yet, anyhow—not even with systems avowedly hostile, but with renaissance and reform, and an interest and sympathy extended towards herself, which are little short of marvellous. The missionary societies have their policy clearly arranged and definitely set before

¹ The systems of Isis and Mithra, which bolstered up the religion of the empire in the second and third centuries, when the worship of the emperor had lost its glamour, had little more than a cultus to offer. They had no philosophy.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

them. They are, and upon the older premises must be, uncompromising, critical, fearless in a propaganda of evangelisation and proselytism. While the religions of the East appeared to be decadent, and so long as they were actively hostile to Christian influences, this was perhaps the best policy. It may be the best policy still, if definite work is to be done. But Christianity, distinct from missionary enterprise, cannot afford to maintain the old exclusive attitude. At least interest should be met by attention, sympathy should be met with sympathy, every reform which has for its object the spiritual, moral, and material benefit of the eastern peoples should have its approbation, and where possible its support. It is more than probable that such an attitude will bring a change in missionary policy, at least it must bring some alteration in the sympathies of individual missionaries towards the efforts which eastern men are making to rearrange their own condition.

We may go farther and say that the future attitude of Christianity should not merely be one of sympathy, but of comprehension. The systems of religion and philosophy which have produced the ripe spirituality of the East cannot inherently be worse than their results. If we see good fruits, there must be some sound fibres in the trunk, which are worth preserving. These should be comprehended within the new Christianity of India which is undoubtedly being cultivated. To adopt an attitude less generous and sympathetic, is to take cover beneath Semite prejudice and narrowness, and to deny to the non-European world any part in the family of God. It is to follow Paul about and drive him from Lystra, Derbe, and Iconium; nay, it is more, it is to lead Christ once more from the Prætorium to Golgotha. Our message is the kingdom of God and not a self-centred Judaism.

However much the western nations may criticise the practical conceptions of God and human responsibility,

AFRICA AND THE EAST

upon which depend the effective spiritual life of individuals, at least the metaphysics and the social customs of the East call for sympathy and comprehensive treatment. Some form of dogma is necessary to the faith of every thinking people, although there may be individuals for whom it is not necessary. But dogma, after all, is relative and subject to development, because it depends upon metaphysics. At the present stage of human thought metaphysics differ among different peoples. Western civilisation has been developed under the influence of Hellenism. The eastern mind has been formed by the agency of the philosophical system of Brahmaism and of its reformed system in Buddhism. Time and again it has been proved that metaphysics are deeply embedded in the fundamentals of the life and thought of civilisation. It is a striking fact that Buddhism has not been able to break away from the thought-forms of the older Hinduism. Indeed, without metaphysics there is no progress. The failure of both Islam and Judaism to keep step with the progress of other systems, not merely by advance in the arts of life, but by the conversion of new converts to the faith, is due to the lack of metaphysics in those religions. Whatever progress they have made has been due to other causes which are not permanent.¹ It cannot be denied that Islam has made no advance where an accepted philosophy has opposed its path.

The domination of natural science in the western world has blinded part of it to the debt which scientific discovery owes to metaphysical inquiry, especially in the sphere of the processes of thought. But before the next great phase of European civilisation is introduced, it will be found that metaphysics has again led the way.

Christian dogma has been developed upon the basis of the old Greek metaphysic. Judaism failed to create an intellectual system for Christianity, not merely because

¹ Cf. pp. 265-7.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

the Jews had no philosophy,¹ but because the Semite mentality was unsuited to European needs. On the other hand, the West had its own metaphysic, and by means of the union of the Gospel with Hellenism Europe was conquered.² But for this reason dogma is relative, the essential element is the Gospel.

In the East to-day we have a similar though not identical state of affairs. The West is offering the Gospel, but, unlike the Jews, the West has a dogmatic system. On the other hand, the dogmatic Christianity of the West is just as unsuited to the East as Judaistic Christianity was to the Græco-Roman world. But the East, like Europe then, offers its own metaphysical system to assist in the creation of a Christian dogma suited to Oriental needs. The essential element is still the Gospel, but there is a necessity for the development of a doctrinal system which shall be related to the intellectual requirements of the eastern mind.

It is possible to point out certain points of contact, such as the resemblance to the Christian theory of God and the Logos and the Incarnation, in the doctrine of Brahma, and of Buddha-Dharma. But that is beyond our purpose at present. It is sufficient to note that these resemblances have attracted the attention of close observers in both East³ and West. Do they point to a time when the metaphysics of the East and West, and therefore of western and eastern conceptions of Christian doctrine, shall be linked up and made composite? We are assisted in the hope by the recollection that the metaphysics of both East and West have been produced by peoples belonging to the same Indo-Aryan stock, the only race, indeed, which has produced a metaphysic. But for the present the synthesis will not be hastened by any rash attempt to force western philosophy and dogma upon

¹ The system of Philo was Hellenistic rather than Judaistic.

² Cf. Harnack, *History of Dogma*.

³ Prof. Anesaki, *Hibbert Journal* (1905-6).

AFRICA AND THE EAST

Orientalism. This is true whether what we shall offer to them is the Nicene definition or some modern equivalent for the old Greek formula. The only practical course at present is sympathy, which will lead to comprehension, and towards synthesis and unity.

The intellectual presentation of religion concerns only a small part of a people albeit the more important part. But Christianity should be ready with sympathy towards the sentiments and customs of the masses of the Oriental peoples. These are concerned with social life, and especially with the domestic customs and habits of the homes of the people. The extraordinary success of Hinduism among the different peoples of India, and of Buddhism in India, Burma, China, and Japan, has been largely due to their powers of adaptation, and capacity for absorbing the religious customs of the domestic life of different peoples. The advance of Buddhism in China and Japan was greatly assisted by a sympathetic treatment of what is known as ancestor-worship.¹ In so far as ancestor-worship expresses a domestic and social sentiment it has been a strong factor in maintaining the stability of society. In different forms it exists in all parts of the world, though its influence is less marked than in Japan and China. It is really the expression of the innate human conviction, or at least hope, that life is immortal. The Hindu emphasises the theory of Re-Incarnation, the Christian has his doctrine of Resurrection, but East and West the departed ancestors are not allowed to be forgotten. The gilt-framed gallery in the halls of old families, and the yellow collections of faded photographs in humbler spheres of English life, are indicative of the same instinct as that which causes the Japanese or the Chinaman to place the little model of a temple or an image on a shelf in his living-room, and there to burn incense in memory of his ancestors.

¹ Lafcadio Hearn, *Japan : An Interpretation* (1905), pp. 203-204.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

It is difficult to see that this practice—so far as its effects are social and domestic rather than religious—really militates against the acceptance of the teaching of the Gospel. It should offer little hindrance to the development of Christian ethics or spiritual ideals. If Christianity is faithfully and sympathetically taught, ancestor-worship, like other superstitions, will come to a natural end. Anyhow, the progress of Buddhism in Japan and China was assisted by this policy of consideration and sympathy; and it is not possible to say that the characteristic teachings of the Buddha have been vitiated by this influence. Something more than a spirit of imitation influenced the Jesuit missionaries in China and Japan to adopt the same policy, and since their time the advance of Christian missions has not been able to show the same record of rapid achievement. It is at least remarkable that the decline of the Roman missions in the East, though doubtless influenced by other causes, dates from the coming of the Franciscans¹ and Dominicans with orders from the Papacy to repress the worship of ancestors among the converts, and to make its abolition a condition of baptism.

A word of caution is necessary. Where an ancient religious practice has become so closely associated with social conditions, there is a danger lest the fundamental teaching of the new religion may be compromised by its sympathetic treatment of the social customs attached to the old religion. But when a careful distinction between what is religious and what is social is maintained, at least such advice as that offered by the Shanghai Conference of 1907 may be followed. It was then resolved—

“That while the worship of ancestors is incompatible with an enlightened and spiritual conception of the Christian Churches, yet we should be careful to encourage in our

¹ This mission is to be distinguished from the Franciscan mission of the fourteenth century headed by Monte Cervino.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

Christian converts the feeling of reverence for the departed which this custom seeks to express, and to impress upon the Chinese in general that Christians attach importance to filial piety.

“That the Conference recommends our Chinese brethren to encourage the affectionate remembrance of the dead, by beautifying graves and erecting useful memorials to parents and ancestors, by building and endowing churches, schools, hospitals, asylums, and other charitable institutions, as is common in all Christian lands, thus making memorials of the departed a means of helping the living through successive generations.”¹

It is possible that the more vigorous policy will prove ultimately more sound than the moderate attempt to compromise with certain elements in eastern religions which do not militate against the fundamentals of the teaching of Christ. Such a policy at present can only be justified by a sure conviction that the modern movements within Hinduism and Buddhism will quickly work themselves out. But it is difficult to maintain such a conviction securely. In the end, if a wise evangelisation is carried on, these movements may be absorbed by Christianity. But for the present they call for sympathy and comprehension rather than hostility and discouragement. The final result will be the same, only it will be attained more speedily, and without awaking an unnecessary resentment among eastern peoples towards the western religion. Anyhow a policy of charity is a better exhibition of Christian spirit than one of hostility, provided that they “abstain from things sacrificed to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication.”²

A striking illustration of the failure on the part of the West to accommodate itself to the conditions of the East,

¹ *Contemporary Review* (Feb. 1908).

² Acts xv. 29. •

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

is to be found in the ecclesiastical architecture of modern India. Up and down the country Anglican Churches have been erected in "Public Works Gothic." This may be an improvement on the bad late renaissance work which attempted, in an earlier period, to erect monuments to Wren's genius in India. But the effort has failed as completely as the attempt of the Italians to introduce Gothic into Italy.

Gothic work in Italy failed in two directions. As at Milan, it made an unsuccessful attempt to surpass the Gothic triumphs of northern France and England, and produced the striking but bewildering mass of spires and tapering turrets, suggestive of a stalactite cave inverted. Or else, as at Verona, where indeed an attempt was made to adapt Gothic to Italian conditions, it fell a long way behind the simple majesty of the straight lines and great circles of the older Romanesque. The most glorious church in northern Italy, not excluding San Marco at Venice and the Certosa at Pavia, is the Romanesque San Zeno at Verona.

The cause of the failure lies in the fact that Gothic was the supreme achievement of a race whose ideals of life and religion differed entirely from those of southern Europe. Just as the best Norman work is to be seen at Ely or Durham, because England was the country in which Norman genius effected its most brilliant expression, so the triumphs of Gothic work are only to be found in northern France and England, which are the natural home of the Gothic spirit. An objector might point to the Abbey of Lincoln, and allege that Gothic had been transferred with complete success from France, which was its true birthplace. But Plantagenet England represented a more real fusion of two types of mediæval civilisation in the West, than was possible in Italy. It was a fusion of two different branches of the same race, whereas Italy was severed from the north by a wide racial gulf.

AFRICA AND THE EAST

Still more wide is the gulf which separates India from the West. Yet, with a blind self-sufficiency we have attempted to erect upon Indian soil much of the outer fabric of our civilisation, which in the presence of native art is not needed, and cannot but stand as a constant reminder to coming generations in India of the domination of a western and alien power. Some justification for our action might have been forthcoming if we had been able to raise up true monuments of western genius, worthy of the highest traditions of western art. At present, so far as ecclesiastical architecture is concerned, we have built little that is worth preserving.

It would have been a nobler policy to foster the indigenous architecture of India, and to allow the spirit of the East free scope for natural development. This was possible. The wonderful Taj Mahal at Agra, created by two Italians in the sixteenth century, should have formed a model for the ecclesiastical architecture of the Anglican Church in India. It may be that the Italians possessed a certain affinity for Oriental work, which is lacking in Englishmen. It is true that Oriental conceptions have influenced Italian architecture very largely. This influence is seen at Padua and San Marco, while the campanile of every other Italian church is a direct copy of the column and cupola of a mosque. But it should not have been impossible for the Englishmen in India to erect churches which were Indian in external form, while the worship within was that of the Christian West. There are some who think that the liturgy and ritual should also be Oriental in form, that is, an expression of the content of Western Christianity in Oriental garb. At least it would have been an earnest of the desire to propagate the inner life-principle of Western religion without upsetting the old habits and customs of Oriental life.

A more important provision towards securing the ultimate triumph of Christianity in the East is concerned

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

with matters much nearer home. The future of Christianity in the East is not merely wrapped up with the attitude of western civilisation towards the Oriental in his own land, it is concerned with the condition of Christianity in the West. The East has not been unobservant of the spiritual atmosphere of the West. The widespread attitude of doubt, and in some spheres of open unbelief, has attracted the attention of eastern observers. If the agnostic tendencies at present operating in the West are not checked, the campaign in the East will lose vital power. It will be robbed of its *raison d'être*. The missionary propaganda will find its flank turned, not by any hostile movement upon the part of reactionary developments within Hinduism or Buddhism, but by the necessity which will be laid upon the Oriental converts of attempting, by a reciprocal campaign, to revive the Christian faith in the countries of the West. A few years ago a Christian leader with world-wide experience was able to regard such a contingency with equanimity.¹ But it is more probable that if eastern Christianity were robbed of inspiration from its base in the West, it would not for long be able to support the double strain of maintaining its existence at home, as well as a missionary policy in the East. On the other hand, if the age-long Christianity of Europe proves itself superior to the temporary set-back which it has received in Europe, then even the new movements within the religions of the East should not prove intractable to its influence. But that is a matter, in the first instance, for the home Church to consider.

The position of Muhammadanism remains to be considered. The ethical systems of Confucius and Shinto, will in time surrender to one or other of the great metaphysical religions of the world, and in time to Christianity, without offering more than ordinary difficulty. But the

¹ Mr. J. R. Mott, Secretary of the World's Student Christian Federation, at the quadrennial conference at Liverpool (1908).

AFRICA AND THE EAST

pure theism of Islam presents a far less malleable problem. The strength of Muhammadanism lies in the simplicity of its faith in One God, and in the absence of metaphysical intricacy. Yet herein lies also its weakness, so far as extension among the progressive races is concerned. The human mind and the human soul yearn for a closer contact with God than a theistic system can provide. In Christianity, and to some extent in Hinduism and Buddhism, that necessity is supplied. The theory of the Incarnation of God on the plane of the human, in order to meet human needs, responds to an innate desire of the human mind wherever man thinks deeply about his own condition. Theism presents little more, for practical purposes, than a system of ethics. It is a historical fact that it remains unprogressive. Judaism has long ceased to count. Muhammadanism has made no permanent progress wherever it has come into contact with metaphysical religion. The sword of Charles Martel checked the advance of the Muhammadan armies north of the Pyrenees, but it was the more progressive philosophy of Christianity which imposed the real barrier. There was never any danger that Gibbon's picture of the mullahs in the chairs at Oxford would be materialised. When, indeed, the Arabic scholars of Spain did turn to metaphysics they went to Aristotle. They were not able to evolve their own system within Islam.

So, also, in India, the Moguls were able to establish themselves in the north, but they were never able to drive Hinduism from the centre and the south; and the Muhammadans of the Punjab have ceased to make converts from Hinduism and Buddhism in large numbers. Any increase which takes place is mainly due to the natural growth of population.

Two qualifications have to be made. The Muhammadan revival, of which Aligarh and the All India Muslim League are the expression, seems to point to a

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

movement similar to those which have taken place in Hinduism and Buddhism. In outward form, doubtless, the resemblance is strong. But the new development in Islam is mainly under the influence of political inspiration. The race problem, which expresses itself in political controversy, is engaging the attention of the two great religious systems of India. The National Congress forms the outlet for Hindu aspirations. So, too, the Muhammadans have been compelled to express themselves by reassertion, which has for its object the training of young Muslims, and the linking-up of Muslim interests in India. But Islam has no counterpart to the Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, and the Neo-Hinduism of Mrs. Besant. It has no metaphysic which can be developed to meet its modern needs. It can only reassert its old theistic premisses. Similarly in China and Turkey its intellectual development is at a standstill. At the most its aspirations, in the latter country at any rate, are political.

Secondly, Islam has revived in Africa. Here, indeed, it is progressive. Large tracts of northern and central Africa have been won, and now the followers of the Crescent are creeping down the eastern and western sides of the continent. But there is a special reason for this advance. In Africa Muhammadanism experiences no metaphysical opposition, hence its own deficiency forms no hindrance, while its superior ethical teaching carries before it the resistance of the native cults and customs.

The only opposition comes from the Christian missionary, but that opposition is rendered less dangerous because Christianity has no opportunity of barring the way by resort to its metaphysical weapons. The African peoples have themselves no metaphysic. Philosophical speculation has not yet, and may never, be developed among the sons of Ham. Consequently Christianity is driven to take refuge in its ethics. These are, indeed, superior to those of Islam, and in time, after prolonged and faithful efforts,

AFRICA AND THE EAST

should make way against the followers of the Prophet. But for the present the battle remains difficult and strong, and for long it will give to Muhammadanism an appearance of vitality and renewed vigour, which may be misleading unless the conditions of the problem are kept well to the fore. Anyhow the course of Christianity in Africa is clear. The ethics of Christianity must be disseminated, based upon the inculcation of the elements of the Gospel. There should be no resort to metaphysic or dogma.

The conquest of Islam in Africa and the East will be difficult, not, as is popularly supposed, because of its resemblance to Christianity, but because of its difference. The existence of a metaphysical system in both Hinduism and Buddhism lends hope to the conviction that their surrender to Christian influences is within measurable distance. But the absence of any metaphysical equivalent in Islam, upon which Christian dogma can take hold, renders that result for Muhammadanism far distant. Christianity can only oppose ethic for ethic. In India, no doubt, the superiority of Christian morality is proving itself by changing the social conditions of Islam. But in Africa, where for long the easier ethic of the two will be more acceptable to races which are not possessed of ethical instincts, there are as yet no signs that the progress of Muhammadanism will be speedily checked. Moreover, the work of Islam is made easier by the simplicity of Theism, which presents less difficulty to the African mind than Christian doctrine.

For the present the civilisation of the West must trust to the movement of politics and sociology¹ to exert a silent influence upon Islam. Already these factors are working disintegration. The constitutional movement in Turkey and Persia has cut Muhammadanism from its old bearings. A similar result is appearing in north India, where also the social habits of Muhammadans are being

¹ Particularly the influence of medical and industrial missions.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

profoundly modified by the indirect influence of Christianity operating through social laws. For many years to come the leavening of Islam with Christian teaching and the Christian spirit must be left to the indirect activity which western civilisation can bring to bear upon it. There can, at present, be no direct religious propaganda on a large scale which holds out hope of success, if big results are desired.

The fundamental practical difficulty which every missionary propaganda must face, lies in deciding what are the limits of a positive and what are the limits of a negative policy. That Christianity has proved its capacity as a universal religion is now an historical fact, proved especially by the history of modern missions, but also by the history of the first five centuries of the Christian era. The adoption of a Syrian religion by the Græco-Roman world made clear the inherent adaptability of Christianity to races differing widely from the people among whom it arose. That result was obtained by a double process. On the one hand there was a positive declaration of the special religious message of Christianity as it came from the lips of the Apostles. On the other hand a negative attitude towards Greek thought was avoided, with the result that Greek metaphysics, in the Nicene definition, were left free to create an intellectual system for Christianity among the western peoples. Moreover, no attempt was made, at least by those missionaries who adopted the policy of St. Paul, to interfere with the social habits of the people, except where they interfered with the growth of the religious content of Christianity. Thus a negative attitude in social matters was avoided.

Herein is revealed a principle of action for modern missions. Let the declaration of the religious message of Christianity be positive. Its universality will make itself apparent. On the other hand let the attitude to non-Christian philosophy—where such exists—and to social

AFRICA AND THE EAST

customs, avoid all appearance of negation, save where the religious integrity of Christianity is at stake. By this means much that is good in non-Christian thought will be comprehended in the new intellectual system which will grow up under the influence of Christian teaching; and sympathy will be revealed where it will produce most effect—in the social and domestic life of the people.

EACH IN HIS OWN TONGUE

A fire, a mist, and a planet,
A crystal and a cell,
A jellyfish and a saurian,
And a cave where the cave-men dwell.
Then a sense of law and beauty
And a face turned from the clod,
Some call it Evolution,
Others call it God.

A mist on the far horizon,
The tender, infinite sky,
The rich, ripe tint of the cornfields,
And the wild geese sailing by;
And all over lowland and upland
The charm of the golden rod,
Some of us call it Autumn,
Others call it God.

Like waves on a crescent sea beach
When the moon is new and thin,
Into our souls great yearnings come,
Welling and surging in;
Come from that mystic ocean
Whose rim no foot hath trod,
Some of us call it longing,
Others call it God.

A picket frozen on duty,
A mother starved for her brood,
Socrates drinking the hemlock,
And Jesus on the rood;
And thousands who, humble and nameless,
The straight, hard pathway trod,
Some call it consecration,
And others call it God.

WILLIAM HERBERT CARUTH.¹

¹ The author, a young Australian, died before his genius arrived at fruition.

CONCLUSION

BIOLOGY and sociology point to the superiority of the Caucasian or white races over the coloured races of the earth. Superiority in physical and mental constitution, together with superiority in civilisation and organisation entail responsibility as well as privilege. Not until the nineteenth century did the white races begin to realise this responsibility, though they had long been conscious of privilege and made full use of its enjoyment.

The ancient world made use of the black races to supply the necessities of the labour market. Greek and Roman civilisation subsisted upon the strong thews of the negroid peoples of northern Africa, and the coloured peoples of nearer Asia. The trade question had not risen. Trade problems, so far as they concern racial relationships, only appear when commerce embraces export as well as import transactions. The trade of the ancient world was an import trade. Men trafficked for the luxuries of life, and offered little in return but the barter of the sword. A few little peoples, like the Phœnicians, whose mariners voyaged abroad on private enterprise, may have been honest enough to offer coloured cloth to the backward races for gold and amber and tin, but the great military states of antiquity took what they wanted by means of armed expeditions, and returned not merely with luxuries to adorn their nobles' palaces, but with their galleys laden with slave labourers. In the slave markets of Delos sometimes ten thousand slaves a day were sold. In the commercial transactions of Greece and Rome there was no continuous flow of manufactured goods sent to the backward peoples to pay for the raw products needed by

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY

civilised life. This was a grievance bad enough, but it passed almost unnoticed beside the greater burden placed upon the subject peoples by the system of slave labour which kept the civilised life of Europe going.

The conquest of the Roman Empire by Christianity lightened the lot of the slave and checked the resort to slave labour. Still more, the break-up of the empire before the northern tribes, gave Europe for many centuries other things to do besides hunt and catch and enshackle the coloured peoples of the earth. The Europeans were busy slaying one another until the cessation of dynastic conflicts left them free once more partly to revive the noxious traffic. Moreover, the Church of the middle ages was not altogether unmindful of her responsibility to the coloured races. The eastern missions of the Roman Church, commenced in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and carried on through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, form two bright pages in a record of internecine strife between the new kingdoms and popedoms of Europe.

The discovery of the New World shifted the attention of men's minds once more to a new centre. But with the change came a partial reversion to the old bad habits. Men wanted labour to build up a new civilisation of comfort which the middle ages in their sturdy, if barbarous uncouthness had never known. The great commercial nations resorted once more to slavery, and trade once more was carried on largely to obtain slave labour. The pathos of it all was that the greatest offender was the new land of freedom peopled by men who fled from the oppressions of civilised life in Europe. It was an old story. The democracy of America freed from the burdens of autocratic Europe, bolstered itself up on slave labour, even as the democracy of Greece, liberated from the fear of the Persians, and the democracy of Rome liberated from the fear of Carthage, drew their life-blood through the slave markets of nearer Asia.

TRADE POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN

But another network for the coloured races rapidly appeared—the export traffic of modern nations. The western peoples realised that they need not incur the odium of crushing the coloured races by enslaving them, they found that they could win their riches by offering manufactured products which supplied the greedy wants of the backward peoples of Africa and Asia. The export trade of the West created new problems—the problems that form the inter-racial controversies of modern times. European and American ceased, in time, from replenishing their labour markets with slave labour, but if they thus respected the bodies of the coloured races, they commenced an attack upon their souls by means of the trade in alcohol and opium and gunpowder. So in Africa and India and Ceylon we have the problem of alcohol, though bringing different degrees of responsibility to the white peoples; and in China there was the opium problem, which has been solved by prohibition—the boldest, but the only effective means of dealing also with the worst forms of the problem of alcohol.

But modern trade has not ended there. The labour trouble has reappeared, even though its recrudescence in the ancient form has been stamped out. In the mining and agricultural industries of Africa there is a danger that once more slavery may appear, more insidiously and more difficult to repress because covered by the formalities of the pay-day and pay-master. Not only so, but the white man's trading enterprise threatens to oust the black man from the regions from which he has drawn his sustenance for many centuries.

Farther, also, has the white man's wish for trade taken him. It has taken him into countries long content to live and die under systems of autocracy, but under systems borne with a patience and resignation which amounted almost to happiness, and certainly to content. The result of the white man's sojourn in the land has been to bring

AFRICA AND THE EAST

to these peoples a great discontent, and a desire for all the forms of freedom which have made the white man a conqueror of coloured peoples. So in India and in China there are movements towards democracy, started by the white man's occupation, but which the white man cannot hold in check.

Lastly, there is the pressing problem of sexual commerce, older than any other in the history of races, but far more terrible in modern times because of the many points of contact established between black and brown and white by the swift communications of modern trade.

Wherein does the solution lie? In Christianity, not in the dissemination of metaphysic dogma, nor in the fulfilment of apocalyptic doom, but in the quiet teaching of Christian ethic, and the inculcation of Christian practice. This teaching of the Cross must be kept always before the Governments of the West, urging them to the prohibition of trade which brings ruin to the morals of the backward peoples, supplying them with evidence gained by men long-dwelt among the native races, urging them to a better control where the natives themselves have produced the means of their own weakness. It must be offered to the trader and administrator, showing them that no true happiness or success are to be gained at the expense of the body or soul of any son of man, whether black or brown or yellow. It must be revealed to the native peoples themselves in order to show them the true way to democracy, and the vision of a universal brotherhood of man. In this last case especially, the end will be achieved not so well by evangelistic propaganda, as by the foundation of an educational system which shall reach down to all the roots of the hoary national life of great peoples, who were civilised while the white races were still nomads on the plains, or warring tribes in the forests of Central Asia and Central Europe.

APPENDIX I

WHILE the book was going through the press, I had the privilege of seeing a copy of the Indians Relief Act of 1914 (No. 22), by the courtesy of the Secretary of the High Commissioner for South Africa.

The chief recommendations made by the Commission of 1914 have been adopted.

The £3 tax has been repealed, together with certain regulations which related to the payment of the tax by children, and the production of the license by labourers before they were employed (§ 8 with Schedule).

In order to encourage the ex-indentured Indians to return to India, a free passage is to be granted by the South African Government. But in Natal an application for the grant must be made within twelve months of the expiry of indentures (§§ 5 and 6).

The marriage difficulty has been simplified by allowing a union with one wife, regardless of the fact that the religion under which the contract takes place may recognise polygamy (§ 2). One wife is to be admitted into South Africa on the same condition (§ 3).

But a distinction seems to be made between the Indian already resident in South Africa and the Indian who is about to enter the Union. In the latter case such wife of an Indian will not be admitted, "if such exempted person has in any Province offspring by any other woman who is still living" (§ 3 (2) (b)). On the other hand, no such qualification is attached to the marriage of Indians already domiciled in South Africa (cf. § 2).

It may be that by this means the position of the older

APPENDIX I

Indians, for whom lenient treatment was requested by the Commission, has been safe-guarded. At the same time, it makes clear that the South African Government does not wish to encourage the growth of the East Indian community, by means of unions not recognised by law, made in addition to the registered marriage. In this case the excessively liberal recommendation of the Commissioners has not been adopted.

Priests of any Indian religion may be appointed from time to time by the Minister of the Interior, for the solemnisation of marriages according to the rites of Indian religion. Such marriage officers are to keep registers, which shall be open to inspection (§ 1).

The difficulty created by the re-admission of Indians has been removed by the stipulation that the thumb impression alone is sufficient evidence of identification (§ 7).

All the important grievances are removed by these regulations. But the larger imperial question remains. In view of the fact that the Government of India has felt it necessary to forbid the emigration of Indian labourers to South Africa, some other region of Africa should be opened to them. The relief brought by the Act of 1914 only concerns those coolies already indentured in South Africa, and the "free" Indians who do not come under the control of the labour regulations. The South African Government has taken no steps which promise that the Union will ever be opened to the free entrance of Indian labour. Perhaps it is too much to expect that it should encourage hope for such a removal of the restrictions. At the same time, our imperial responsibility to India creates the necessity of offering some equivalent to the Indian people for this disability, by opening up some other region of Africa to them.

APPENDIX II

PROHIBITION IN AFRICA

AT a deputation to the Secretary of State for the Colonies from the United Races Committee on July 11, 1911, the following letter addressed to the Secretary of the Committee from Sir Harry Johnston, was read—

“ I scarcely need to repeat the fact that I concur most thoroughly with the views of your Committee, and if I were able to be present on July 11, I doubt if I could add anything to the very ably drawn up memorial which you are presenting to Mr. Vernon Harcourt. In my opinion there can be no reasonable doubt that if the Colonial Office has the interests of the natives of Southern Nigeria really at heart (as I do not doubt it has) it will do all in its power to exclude ardent spirits from introduction into that region or into any other part of Africa over which it has control. I do not think any of the half-hearted apologists for this distilled alcohol have attempted to show that it does the native any good, physically and mentally. They seem only able to argue that trade gin, whisky, and brandy do not so much harm as So-and-so declares. At one time I was inclined to think that Southern Nigeria was not much hurt by the imported alcohol, in view of the intoxicating qualities of Palm wine. But subsequent research and observations in other parts of West, Central, and South Africa, have convinced me that the distilled alcohol is far more dangerous, physically and morally, than the merely fermented drinks which the native can make for himself (provided he does not distil

APPENDIX II

them—an elaborate process which he is ordinarily unable to carry out). It is said, moreover, that ‘trade gin’ is not an ‘unwholesome’ spirit. The best answer to that is to ask any reputable doctor’s or analyst’s opinion as to the wisdom of any white man consuming this stuff. His reply would be vehemently against a white man’s doing so. Does the stomach of the black man differ so much from ours that he can take with impunity what is almost poison to us? Of course he can’t. I do not feel equally inimical to good light wines or beer. Personally I am a teetotaler for my stomach’s sake, as are many other people at the present day. But wine (unfortified) and lager beer, stand on a completely different footing to distilled spirits. These it should be our duty, as guardians to the negro, to keep from him as most dangerous to mind and body.”

APPENDIX III

CHAPTER VI : BRUSSELS GENERAL ACT, 1890

“ARTICLE XC.—Justly anxious about the moral and material consequences which the abuse of spirituous liquors entails on the native population, the Signatory Powers have agreed to apply the provisions of Articles XCI, XCII, XCIII, within a zone extending from the 20th degree north latitude to the 22nd degree south latitude, and bounded by the Atlantic Ocean on the West and by the Indian Ocean on the East, with its dependencies, comprising the islands adjacent to the mainland, up to 100 sea miles from the shore.”

“Article XCI.—In the districts of this zone where it shall be ascertained that, either on account of religious belief or from other motives, the use of distilled liquors does not exist or has not been developed, the Powers shall prohibit their importation. The manufacture of distilled liquors there shall be equally prohibited.”

“Each Power shall determine the limits of the zone of prohibition of alcoholic liquors in its possessions or protectorates, and shall be bound to notify the limits thereof to the other Powers within the space of six months. The above prohibition can only be suspended in the case of limited quantities destined for the consumption of the non-native population and imported under the regime and conditions determined by each Government.”

“Article XCII.—The Powers having possessions, or exercising protectorates, in the region of the zone which are not placed under the action of prohibition, and into

APPENDIX III

which alcoholic liquors are at present either freely imported, or pay an import duty of less than 15 francs per hectolitre at 50 degrees Centigrade, undertake to levy on these alcoholic liquors an import duty of 15 francs per hectolitre at 50 degrees Centigrade for three years after the present General Act comes into force. At the expiration of this period, the duty may be increased to 25 francs during a fresh period of three years. At the end of the sixth year it shall be submitted to revision, taking as a basis the average results produced by these Tariffs, for the purpose of then fixing, if possible, a minimum duty throughout the whole extent of the zone when the prohibition referred to in Article XCI is not in force."

"The Powers have the right of maintaining and increasing the duties beyond the minimum fixed by the present Article in those regions where they already possess that right."

"Article XCIII.—The distilled liquors manufactured in the regions referred to in Article XCII and intended for inland consumption, shall be subject to an Excise duty. This Excise duty, the collection of which the Powers undertake to insure as far as possible, shall not be lower than the minimum import duty fixed by Article XCII."

"Article XCIV.—Signatory Powers having in Africa possessions contiguous to the zone specified in Article XC undertake to adopt the necessary measures for preventing the introduction of spirituous liquors within the territories of the said zone by their inland frontiers."

"Article XCV.—The Powers shall communicate to each other, through the office, at Brussels, and according to the terms of Chapter V, information relating to the traffic in alcoholic liquors within their respective territories."

APPENDIX IV

SELF-GOVERNMENT IN INDIA

IN an appendix to his book, *Village Government in British India* (T. Fisher Unwin, 1915), Mr. Matthai quotes three paragraphs from a resolution of the Government of India on local self-government, issued in May 1915. Paragraph 38 contains a general recommendation in the following terms: "The Government of India desire that where any practical scheme can be worked out in co-operation with the people concerned, full experiment should be made on lines approved by the local Government or Administration concerned. Throughout the greater part of India the word 'panchayat' is familiar. The lower castes commonly have voluntarily constituted 'panchayats,' to whom they allow quasi-judicial authority in social matters. The more artificial administrative committees, such as 'chaudikari panchayats,' local fund unions, and village sanitation and education committees, and, in places even village 'panchayats,' already exist. The spread of co-operative societies and distribution of Government advances in time of famine and scarcity on joint security are educative influences. Village tribunals for the disposal of petty civil suits have got beyond the experimental stage in some places and are in the experimental stage in others. There is, therefore, some material with which to build. The Government of India agree, however, with the view prominently brought forward by the Bengal District Administration Committee that much will depend on the local knowledge and personality of the officers who may be selected to introduce any scheme."

APPENDIX IV

The following general principles are laid down in paragraph 39—

“(1) The experiments should be made in selected villages or areas larger than a village, where the people in general agree.

“(2) Legislation, where necessary, should be permissive and general. The powers and duties of ‘panchayats,’ whether administrative or judicial, need not, and indeed should not, be identical in every village.

“(3) In areas where it is considered desirable to confer judicial as well as administrative functions upon ‘panchayats’ the same body should exercise both functions.

“(4) Existing village administrative committees such as village sanitation and education committees, should be merged in the village ‘panchayats’ where these are established.

“(5) The jurisdiction of ‘panchayats’ in judicial cases should ordinarily be permissive, but in order to provide inducement to litigants reasonable facilities might be allowed to persons wishing to have their cases decided by ‘panchayats.’ For instance, court fees, if levied, should be small. technicalities in procedure should be avoided, and possibly a speedier execution of decrees permitted.

“(6) Powers of permissive taxation may be conferred on ‘panchayats’ where desired, subject to the control of the local Government or Administration, but the development of the ‘panchayat’ system should not be prejudiced by an excessive association with taxation.

“(7) The relations of ‘panchayats’ on the administrative side with other administrative bodies should be clearly defined. If they are financed by district or sub-district boards, there can be no objection to some supervision by such boards.”

APPENDIX V

THE TREATY OF TIENTSIN

CURZON, *Problems of the Far East* (1894), p. 315¹: "The only passage in Lord Elgin's Treaty of Tientsin in 1858 relating directly to missionaries is that commonly known as the Toleration Clause, which was copied without substantial alteration from the treaties already concluded by China and Russia and the United States.

"Article VIII of the English Treaty runs as follows: 'The Christian religion, as professed by Protestants and Roman Catholics, inculcates the practice of virtue and teaches man to do as he would be done by. Persons teaching or professing it, therefore, shall alike be entitled to the protection of the Chinese authorities; nor shall any such, peaceably pursuing their calling, and not offending against the law, be persecuted or interfered with.'

"A later clause in the same Treaty (Art. XII) was subsequently appealed to as giving English missionaries the right to rent or own land and buildings in the interior: 'British subjects, whether at the ports or at other places, desiring to build or open houses, warehouses, churches, hospitals, or burial-grounds, shall make their agreement for the land or buildings they require at the rates prevailing among the people, equitably and without exactions on either side.'" But the Article explained away the apparent liberty allowed by the Chinese Government, and the British Government always held that "other places" only referred to places such as Whampoa, Wusung, and Taku. "Indeed, if the words had meant places in

¹ P. 294 (2nd edition).

APPENDIX V

their interior promiscuously, there would obviously have been no necessity for subsequent treaties opening fresh Treaty Ports, which concessions have only been procured as a compensation for outrage, or with immense difficulty."

"The British Treaties, accordingly, while they secure to the missionary full protection everywhere in the pursuit of his calling, and in the possession of house and church property in the Treaty Ports, do not give him the right either of residence or of ownership in the interior. It was reserved for the French to supply the deficiency."

Article XIII of the French Treaty of 1858, resembled Article XII in the British Treaty. "Two years later, after the capture of Peking and the sacking of the Summer Palace by the allied forces, both England and France exacted supplementary Conventions which were signed at Peking in 1860. Article VI of the French Convention stipulated for the restoration to them of the religious and philanthropic establishments, the cemeteries, and other dependencies, which had been confiscated during the persecutions. At this junction, and in this section of the Treaty it was that a French missionary, acting as interpreter for the French mission, introduced the following clause into the Chinese text, while the document was being transcribed: 'It is, in addition, permitted to French missionaries to rent and purchase land in all the provinces and to create buildings thereon at pleasure.'"

"Now by Article III of the previous Treaty of Tientsin (1858) it had already been agreed that the French text should be considered the authoritative version; and therefore this clause, thus surreptitiously interpolated into the Chinese text only, and not to be found in the French text, was invalid *ab initio*. The Chinese, however, did not at once detect the fraud; and when they did, were either too proud or too fearful of the consequences, to contest the point. The British Government professed its readiness to retire from a position which had no solid, or

APPENDIX V

legitimate foundation. But as the claim was consistently vindicated by the French, without serious protest from the Chinese, so the British tacitly acquired the right also; and to it is owing the privileged status which the missionaries now enjoy, and which is not shared by a single other class of their countrymen."

It need hardly be pointed out that since Lord Curzon's book was published the matter has been rectified, indeed so early as 1865 a more exact definition of the rights of missionaries and others in China began to take place.

INDEX

A

- Aba, 75
 Abbey, The, 262
 Abokuta, 70, 71, 76, 81, 85, 97-8
 "Abkari," 156
 "Actavism," 53
 Act, Education (1870), 167-8
 — Emancipation (1833), 105
 — Franchise (1867), 167-8
 — Indian Councils, 162
 — Indian Explosives, 162
 — Indian Press, 162
 — Indians Relief (1914), 274-5
 Afghanistan, 217
 Africa, Comparison with India, 46-8, 128-30, 155, 159-60
 — Comparison with China, 194-7
 — Labour Problems, 11-61 (cf. "Labour Problem")
 — Liquor Traffic, 62-126, 276-7 (cf. "Liquor Traffic")
 — Prohibition and Christianity, 102-26 (cf. "Prohibition")
 — Inter-racial Marriage, 233-46 (cf. "Marriage")
 — Muhammadanism, 266-8 (cf. "Muhammadanism")
 Africa, British Central, 41, 48, 66, 113, 276
 — British East, 41, 43, 48, 66, 107, 113, 165 (cf. "East Africa")
 — German East, 42, 107
 — German West, 107
 — Portuguese East, 32, 107, 243
 — Portuguese West, 17-19
 — South (British), 22-3, 41, 43, 47, 48, 58, 64, 66, 113, 246, 276 (cf. "South Africa")
 — West (British), 7, 43, 48, 49, 99, 125, 157-8, 276 (cf. "Nigeria," "Gold Coast," "Sierra Leone")
 Agadir, 136
 Agbabi, Pastor Mojola, 245 *n.*
 Agberi, 92
 Agra, 178, 263
 Alake of Abeokuta, 97-8
 Alcohol, European, effect on native races, 62-3, 276-7 (cf. "Liquor Traffic")
 Aligarh, 178, 265
 Allahabad, 178
 All India Muslim League, 188 *n.*, 265
 Amassama, 95
 America, Immigration Laws, 21-2
 — Black problem, 44-5, 235, 271-2
 — Democracy in, 102, 106, 185, 271-2
 — relations with China, 190, 194, 209, 211, 214, 215, 217, 219, 225, 282
 Amerindian race, 233, 242, 243, 244
 Amnon, 233
 Amritsar, 129 *n.*
 Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, 156, 158-9
 Angola, 107
 Ancestor-worship, 259-61
 Architecture, 262-3
 Aristotle, 265
 Aro Expedition, The, 95
 "Arrack," 128, 152
 "Arrow" War, The, 224
 Arya Samaj, The, 253, 266
 Assam, 138, 141, 143, 164, 172
 Atani, 92
 "Auction System," The, 140-1, 148-9
 Australia, 21, 217, 219, 244 *n.*, 269 *n.*
 Australoid race, 242, 245
 Austria-Hungary, 46, 186, 217, 230

INDEX

B

- Badagri, 71
 Bale of Ibadan, 96-7
 Balkan problem, 46, 165, 186
 Baluchistan, 141
 Bamangwato, The, 65, 117
 Bantu races, The, 16, 45, 47, 50, 57, 66
 Basutoland, 49, 66
 Basutos, The, 117
 Benares, 178
 Bende, 82
 Benedictines, The, 249
 Bengal, 138, 140, 164, 165, 222, 223 *n.*
 Bengula, Lo, 117
 Berar, 140, 143
 Bergson, 53, 248
 Berlin, 195
 Besant, Mrs., 253, 266
 Bihar and Orissa, 138, 140, 164
 Board of Trade, 108, 230
 Bombay, 133, 138, 141, 142
 "Boss-boys," 16
 Boxer Movement, 198, 215
 Brahma, 249, 257, 258
 Brahmo Samaj, 266
 Brass, District of, 91, 93, 94, 95
 Brazil, 235, 241, 243
 Britain, Great, cf. "Great Britain"
 Brussels, Congress of Colonial and Tropical Agriculture (1910), 110
 — General Act, 62, 65, 105-7, 109, 116, 119, 120, 278-9
 Bryce, Lord, 58
 Bube, The, 66
 Buddhism, 58, 186, 248, 249, 250, 253, 254, 255, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261-5, 266, 267
 Buddhists, 146, 150, 152, 153, 156
 Burma, 138, 141, 143, 228, 253, 259
 Bushmen, The, 244, 245

C

- Cachalia, Mr., 33
 Calabar, 74, 81, 83, 84-5, 94
 Calcutta, 130, 133, 138, 164, 178
 Cambridge, 211, 216, 218
 Cameroons, 51, 66, 107, 111-12
 Canada, 22

- Cape Colony, 24, 117, 118
 Cape Town, 19, 36, 37, 40
 Carthage, 271
 Caruth, William Herbert, 269
 Caste, 177, 178, 183, 205, 254
 Caucasian race, 233, 235, 240, 242, 243, 245
 Cecil, Lord William, 215
 Central Africa, British, 41, 43, 48, 66, 113, 276
 Central Distilleries, 132-3, 149, 151-2
 Central Provinces (India), 140, 141, 143
 Certosa di Pavia, The, 262, 263
 Ceylon, The Liquor Traffic in, 145-60 (cf. "Liquor Traffic")
 — Comparison with India, 145
 — Religion in, 253
 Chalcedon, Creed of, 188
 Chang, General, 227
 "Chaudikar," The, 176
 Chefoo Convention, 224
 Children, and Liquor Traffic, 75-81, 121-2, 143, 152, 228
 China, Japanese traders in, 6, 229, 230
 — Chinese labour, 20-1, 44
 — Chinese in India, 141
 — Opium Traffic in, 99, 127, 128, 144, 222-32 (cf. "Opium Traffic")
 — Morphia Traffic in, 229-32
 — Self-Government in, 185, 190-208 (cf. "Self-Government")
 — Inter-racial Marriage, 233-46 (cf. "Marriage")
 — Religion in, 209-21, 247, 248, 250, 253, 255, 259, 260, 266 (cf. "Christianity," "Missions," "Religion")
 Chou, King, 207
 Christianity and African labour problems, 53-61
 — and Prohibition, 102-6 (cf. "Prohibition")
 — and Liquor Traffic, 120-6, 155-6
 — and Self-Government, 177-89, 209-21 (cf. "Missions," "Self-Government")

INDEX

- Christianity and Oriental religions,
180-1, 247, 248, 250, 251,
255-69 (cf. "Missions,"
"Religion")
— and Morphia Traffic, 232
— and Inter-racial Marriage, 246
— in Roman Empire, 271
Chungking, 229
Church, The, 56, 58, 157, 177-8,
182, 188-9, 232, 247, 248, 264 270
(cf. "Missions," "Religion")
Churchill, Mr., 6-7
Civilisation, 5, 10, 53-5, 237
Clive, Robert, 222
Cocoa plantations, 11, 51
Collins, Sir William, 9, 229
Commission, South African Native
Affairs (1903-5), 19, 117-19
— Native Affairs (1906-7), 19,
45, 48, 120
— on South African Labour
(1909), 25
— Southern Nigerian (1909), 67,
68, 74, 76-8, 80, 83, 87, 89,
91, 93, 119
— on Village Institutions in
India, 171-3, 176
— Indian Inquiry (1914), 38-40
— Opium, 225
Committees (Village), 153
"Concessions," 8, 192, 193, 199
Confucianism, 186, 206, 208, 214,
248, 253, 255, 264
Congo, The, 107
Contract labour, 18
Cornish miners, 12
Coronation Durbar, 163-4
Councils Act, Indian, 162
Crewe, Lord, 29, 31, 120, 132, 134,
136, 137, 138, 140
Cromer, Lord, 177
• Cross, Lord, 137
Cross, River, 74
Crowther, Archdeacon, 93, 94
Currency, gin, 64, 90-3
Curzon, Lord, 282-4
- D
- Dahomey, 66, 107, 111
Darwin, 243
David, King, 233
- Delhi, 163
Delos, 102, 270
Democracy, in Europe, 26, 102, 201,
214, 236, 270
— in Colonies, 26-7, 102-4, 273
— in America, 102, 106, 185,
271-2
— in India, 167-8, 174, 182, 184
— in China, 200-208, 209, 221
— (cf. "Self-Government")
Dennis, Archdeacon, 92
Distillation by natives, 110, 276
Distilleries, Central, 132-3, 149,
151-2
Dogma, 59, 257-9, 267-8
Dominicans, The, 260
Downing Street, 195
Dravidian race, 240, 242, 244, 246
Drunkenness in Africa, 62, 65-126
(cf. "Liquor Traffic")
Duala, The, 66
Durban, 37
Durbar, The Coronation, 163-4
Durham, 262
Dutch, The, 244
- E
- East Africa, British : Brown man's
preserve, 41, 43, 48, 165;
alcohol in, 66, 107; tax-
ation in, 113
— German, 42, 107
— Portuguese, 32, 107, 243
East India Company, The, 2, 4, 46,
198, 222 (cf. "Introduction")
East Indian Labour, 24-40, 164-c,
246, 274-5 (cf. "Labour Pro-
blems")
Edgerley, Sir S., 172
Edinburgh, 230
Education, 166-89, 209-21, 273
— in India : Effects of Western
education, 166; education
and democracy, 167-9; de-
fective results, 163-9; vil-
lage education, 175-7; cost
of education, 176-7, 181;
caste, 177; opportunity for
Christian Church, 177-8,
181-2; hostels, 178-80;
village schools, 179; re-
ligious difficulty, 180-1;

INDEX

- education and morality, 181; democracy and Christianity, 182, 184
- Education in China* : effects of old examination system, 209-11; influence of western teaching, 211-12; nature of reform movement, 212-13; its needs, 214; Christianity and education, 214; University schemes, 215-16; Christianity and democracy, 216; Yellow Peril, 217-20; need of emigration centres, 219 (cf. "Self-Government")
- Edward VII, King, 117
- Egba, 83, 97, 98
- Ekow, 95
- Elgin, Lord, 282
- Ely, 262
- Emancipation Act, 105
- Emden*, The, 165
- Emperor-worship, 255
- England, Liquor Traffic in, 64, 68, 86, 113, 122, 132, 147, 157
- Democracy in, 167-8
- English Church and India, 178, 182 (cf. "Church," "Christianity," "Missions")
- negro blood in, 240
- Gothic and Norman architecture in, 262
- (cf. "Great Britain")
- Esperanza, 38
- Eucken, 53
- Eurasians, The, 233, 243, 246
- Examination, system of China, 209
- Explosive Substances Act (India), 162
- "Extra-Territoriality," 2, 8, 192, 199
- F
- Fashoda, 196
- Fernando-Po-Cameroons, 66
- Feudalism, 1, 201-3, 206
- Finch, Prof. Earl, 243 n.
- Fines, payment of, in gin, 93-6
- Fischer, Mr., 31
- Forcados, 83
- "Foundations," 57
- France, distilleries and liquor traffic, 8
- customs duties in West Africa, 111
- relations with China, 194, 283
- East India Company, 198
- negro blood in, 239, 240
- Gothic architecture in, 262
- Franciscans, The, 249, 260
- Freetown, 57
- Fulani, The, 65
- Funeral processions, 84-6
- G
- Gambia, 109
- Gandhi, Mr., 28, 31, 32, 34, 35, 37
- Germany : traders in India, 6, 165
- municipalities in, 26
- attitude to East Indians in Africa, 46
- gin traffic in Africa, 107, 108, 111
- Germans in America, 187
- relations with China, 192, 194, 195, 196, 217, 220, 230
- relations with Zanzibar and Morocco, 196 n.
- Gibbon, Edward, 265
- Gin currency, 64, 90-3
- Gin traffic (cf. "Liquor Traffic")
- Gokhale, Mr., 29, 131
- Gold Coast, 51, 66, 69, 89, 99, 107, 108, 109
- Goldie, Sir George, 105 n.
- Gothic architecture, 262
- Great Britain, relations with China, 194, 198, 199, 219, 222-32, 282-4
- and education in China, 209, 211, 215 (cf. "Missions")
- (cf. "England")
- Greece, 26, 65, 102, 236, 270
- Grikwas, The, 244
- Guinea, Portuguese, 244
- Spanish, 109
- H
- Hague Conference, The, 226, 229, 231 n.
- Half-castes, The, 9, 233-46, 273 (cf. "Marriage")

INDEX

Hansa League, The, 2
Harcourt, Mr., 150, 161, 276
Hardinge, Lord, 136, 139, 140, 142, 143, 164
Hausa, The, 72
Hellenism, 257, 258
Hinduism, 58, 177, 179, 180, '81, 248, 249, 253, 254, 257, 259-61, 265, 266, 267
Hindus, 152, 156, 164, 178, 184
Hobhouse, Mr. J. A., 101
Holland, 108
Hong Kong, 211, 223, 224, 228
Hostels, 178, 183, 215-16
Hottentots, The, 66, 244, 245
House of Commons, The, 102, 108, 124, 159, 225
House of Lords, The, 29
Hsüan, King, 207

I

Ibadan, 96-7, 112
Ibibios, The, 73, 74
Ikale, 112
"Ikpo," 85
Imperial responsibility, 22-3, 26-7, 41, 55-8 (cf. "Christianity," "Missions")
Incarnation, The, 258, 265
Indentured Labour (cf. "Labour Problems")
India, German traders in, 6
— Imperial responsibility to, 41
— Comparison with Africa, 46, 48, 128-30
— Comparison with China, 198
— Liqueur-Traffic, The, 105, 127-44, 154-60 (cf. "Liquor Traffic")
— Self-Government in, 9, 161-89, 280-1 (cf. "Self-Government")
— Opium Traffic, 4, 222-9 (cf. "Opium Traffic")
— Inter-racial marriage, 233-46 (cf. "Marriage")
— Religion in, 247, 248, 250, 251, 255, 256, 259 (cf. "Religion," "Hinduism," "Christianity," "Missions")

India, Church architecture in, 262-3
Indian labour, East, 24-40 (cf. "Labour Problems")
Industrial missions, 60, 122-3
Ireland, 186, 240
Isis-worship, 255 n.
Islam (cf. "Muhammadanism")
Italy, republics in, 26, 192
— and war of 1911, 217
— negro blood in, 235, 239, 240
— Gothic architecture in, 262-3
Ivory Coast, 107, 108

J

Jainism, 248
Japan, relations with China, 6, 192, 193, 194, 199, 209, 212, 215, 217, 218, 219, 220
— and Morphia Traffic, 229, 230, 232
— Religion in, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 255, 259, 260 (cf. "Religion," "Buddhism")
Jesuit missions, 260
Johannesburg, 19
John, S., 125
Johnson, Bishop, 76-9
Johnston, Mr., 206-8
— Sir H. H., 7, 56, 63, 64, 239, 276-7 (cf. "Introduction")
Joynson-Hicks, Mr., 108
Judaism, 256, 257-8, 265

K

Kamerun, 51, 66, 107, 111-12
Kanaka, The, 22
Kelts, 240
Khama, The Chief, 65, 117
Kiangsi, 227, 228
Kiangsu, 227, 228
Kimberley, 19
Koinadugu, 107
Koran, The, 83, 84
Korea, 229, 255
Krishna, 249
Kulsan Bibi, 32
Kwangtung, 227, 228
Kweichow, 229

INDEX

L

La Mercy, 38

"Labola," 14

Labour problems, 11-61, 272, 274-5

— Black labour, 11-23; scarcity of white labour, 11; native labour cheap but uncertain, 11-14; capable of improvement, 12; problem on the Rand, 12; white man dislikes manual work, 12; black labour deficient, 13, 20; natives and pastoral life, 13-14; treatment of natives, 15; capable of settled habits, 15-16; reforms needed, 17; Portuguese labour regulations, 17-18; contract labour, 18; South African Commission, 19

— Chinese labour, 20-2; restrictions in New Zealand, 20-1; in Australia, 21; in America, 21-2; in Canada, 22; Kaffirs from Mozambique, 22

— East Indian labour, 24-60, 164-6, 246, 274-5; policy of South African Government, 24, 274-5; unpopular in India, 25; importance of East Indian labour, 25; legislation, 27-9; Mr. Gokhale's visit, 29; marriage laws, 30, 274-5; admission of wives, 31-3; plural wives, 33; marriage officers, 34; contracts before priests, 34-5; minor grievances, 35-7, 275; passive resistance, 37-8; Act of 1913, 38; collision with police, 38; Commission of Inquiry, 38-40; Relief Act of 1914, 274-5

— Solution for labour problems, 41-61, 274-5; possible reserves for Indians in East Africa, 41-3; importance of negro labour, 44; black

v. white, 43, 45-8; possible reserve for Negroes in Central Africa, 48-51; free labour, 51; sex-problem, 51-2; western civilisation, 53-5; Imperialism and Christianity, 55-8; missionary policy, 58-61

Lagos, 66, 71, 76, 81, 82, 84

Land, cause of war, 1

Lewin, Mr. Evans, 42 n., 196 n.

Li Yuan Hung, General, 212, 217

Liberia, 45, 65

Licensing Committees (India), 137

138-9, 150, 151-2, 153, 160

Limomu, The, 84

Lin, Commissioner, 223

Lincoln, 262

Liquor Traffic, The, 62-160, 272, 276-9

— in Africa: prevalence of alcohol, 62-7

— Southern Nigeria, 67-116, 119-26, 276; retail trade, 67-8; drinking escapes notice of police, 67-9; drunkenness among native labourers, 69-70; increase in drunkenness, 70-5; value of evidence before Commission, 74; gin given to children, 75-9; pawning of children, 79-81; drinking among young men, 81-2; among educated natives, 82-3; among Muhammadans, 83-4; at funeral processions, 84-6; statistics, 87-9; relation of gin traffic to general trade, 89-90; gin as currency, 90-3; fines paid in gin, 93-6; influence of Government, 96-9; gin traffic and revenue, 99; liquor and the individual native, 100-1; Brussels Act and Prohibition, The, 105-9; four objections to, 109-15; comparison with South Africa, 119; local option, 120; Christianity

INDEX

- and the traffic, 121-6; Sir Harry Johnston, 276
- Liquor in South Africa*, 64, 66, 116-20, 123, 276
- *in India*, 105, 127-44, 153-60; character of problem, 127-8; comparison with Africa, 128-130, 155, 159, 160; uncertainty of statistics, 130; increase in revenue, 131-5, 141-2; central distilleries, 132-3; higher taxation, closing of shops, 135; policy of reformers, 136-9; local option, 137, 139; separation of revenue and licensing functions, 137-8; auction system and fixed fees, 140-1; location of shops, 142; hours of closing, 142; children, 143; drugs, 143-4; Christianity, 155-60
- *in Ceylon*, 145-60; comparison with India, 145; increased issue of licenses, 145, 151; re-sales, 146; separation of arrack and toddy licenses, 146, 150, 154; deputation to Secretary of State, 147-50; increased consumption, 147; number of licenses issued, 148; under control of revenue officer, 148, auction system, 148-9; central distilleries, 149, 151-2; public servants and temperance, 149-50; reply of Secretary of State, 150; reforms adopted, 151-2; advisory boards, 152, 153; arrack consumption, 152; sites of shops, 152-3; local option and native opinion, 154-5; separation of revenue and licensing functions, 154; moral question for Government, 154-5; political aspect, 155
- Livingstone, 106
- Lo Bengula, The Chief, 117
- Loans, Foreign, in China, 198-200 232
- Local Option, 120, 134, 137, 139, 150, 153, 154-5, 160
- Logos, The, 258
- London, 230
- Lugard, Lady, 64
- Lutheran Theology, 249
- ## M
- Madras, 133-4, 138, 173
- Bishop of, 183-4
- Magna Carta, 1
- Mahboob Khan, 32
- Malay States, 228, 239
- Malwa opium, 137 n.
- Manchuria, 193, 219, 229
- Manchus, The, 190, 203, 205
- Maori, 242, 243, 244
- Marco, San, 262, 263
- Marriage, laws in South Africa, 30-5, 39-40, 274-5 (cf. "Labour Problems")
- the black problem, 45-6, 47, 51-2, 245 n., 273
- inter-racial, 233-46; the Mendelian law, 234; effects from race crossing, 235-6; unity of human race, 236; civilisation and racial demarcation, 237; hybrids, 238-9; are the white races free from hybridity? 239-40; bad treatment of half-castes, 241; antipathy between races, 242; biological conclusion, 243-4; regulation of intercourse, 245-6; Christianity, 246
- Martel, Charles, 265
- Matabile, The, 117
- Matthai, Mr. J., 280-1
- Mediterranean, The, 102, 235, 240
- Mencius, 206-8
- Mendelism, 234-5, 237, 238, 240, 244 n.
- Milan, 262
- Ming, The, dynasty, 202-3
- Minto, Lord, 141, 161
- Minutes of Evidence (Southern Nigerian Commission, 1909), 76-9

INDEX

- (cf. "Liquor Traffic—Southern Nigeria")
- Missions and imperial problems, 56-8
- policy of, 59-60, 123-6, 157-60, 247, 255-6, 260, 268-9, 282-3
- industrial, 60, 123
- and labour problems, 60-1
- and education, 122-3, 177-9, 215-16
- and liquor traffic, 123-6, 157-60
- and democracy, 182, 216-17
- and Yellow Peril, 217-20
- and morphia traffic, 232
- and Eastern religions, 247, 250, 255-6, 260, 268-9, 271, 282-3
- (cf. "Christianity," "Church," "Religion")
- Mithra-worship, 255 *n.*
- Moguls, The, 164, 249, 265
- Monaco, 239
- Mongolia, 193, 219
- Mongols, 202, 233, 240, 242
- Montagu, Mr., 227, 228
- Morley, Lord, 134, 162, 164, 187, 225
- Morocco, 196 *n.*
- Morphia Traffic, The, 143, 229-32
- Mosheh, The Chief, 49
- Mount Edgecombe, 38
- Mozambique, 22
- Muhammadarism, 58, 65, 179, 248, 248, 250, 257, 264-8 (cf. "Religion")
- Muhammadans, 34-5, 72, 83-4, 150, 152, 156, 164, 165, 178, 180, 181, 184
- Muslim League, The All India, 188 *n.*, 265
- N
- Nanking, Treaty of, 223
- Natal, 24, 33, 36, 38, 117, 119, 274
- National Congress, The, 161, 266
- Native Races, 3-10, 154-5, 160, 262
- Native Races Committee, 108, 124, 146, 150, 151, 152, 157, 158
- Negros, The, 5, 43-4, 45, 233, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245
- Nembe, 95
- Nevada, 12
- Newchang, 230
- New Testament, The, 121
- New Zealand, 20-1
- Nicene Creed, The, 56, 188, 259, 268
- Niger Delta, 66, 78, 92
- Nigeria, *Northern*, 62, 99, 107, 108-9, 113
- *Southern*, 4, 47-126 (cf. "Liquor Traffic"); Acting Colonial Secretary for, 91; Head of Forestry Department, 91; Inspector-General of Police, 67, 68, 69; Commandant of S. Nigerian Regt., 70
- Nigerian Sudan, 66
- Norman architecture, 262
- Norway, 120
- Nyasaland, 107
- O
- Obagun, 72
- O'Connor, Mr. J. K., 196 *n.*
- Ogboyau, 95
- Olivier, Sir Sydney, 102 *n.*
- "Open Door," The, in China, 193, 198
- Opium Traffic, The, 3, 4, 99, 127, 128, 144
- history of traffic, 222-9; Robert Clive and Warren Hastings, 222; appeals by Emperor to Great Britain, 223; Commissioner Lin, 223; opium wars, 224; Chefoo Convention, 224; change of public opinion in Great Britain, 225; agreement renewed, 226; accumulated stocks, 227; trade with Shanghai, etc., 228
- Opobo, 83
- Option, Local, 120, 134, 137, 139, 150, 153, 154-5, 160
- Orange River Colony, 24 *n.*
- Otta, 98

INDEX

Oxford, 211, 265
Oyo, 71, 80

P

Padua, 263
Palm wine, 62, 112, 276
Palmerston, Lord, 224
"Panchayat," The, 169, 280-1
Panther, The, 196 *n.*
Paris, 195
Partition of Bengal, 164
Paul, S., 121, 124-6, 256, 268
Pavia, 262, 263
Pawning of children, 79-81
Pease, Sir Joseph, 225
Pekin, 196 *n.*, 197 *n.*, 202, 224, 230, 283
Pelagii, The, 255
Persia, 267, 271
Philippines, The, 225 *n.*
Philo, 258 *n.*
Phœnicians, The, 270
Pitt, 106
Poland, 192
Polynesia, 239
Portuguese Guinea, 66
— East Africa, 32, 107, 243
— West Africa, 17-19
— in South America, 241
Potosi, Mines of, 20
Press Acts (Indian), 162
Pretoria, 36
Probyn, Sir Leslie, 79 *n.*, 120
Prohibition in Africa, 67, 102-26;
Brussels Act, 105-7, 276-7;
territories in which enforced,
107-9; objections to, 109-15;
in South Africa, 116-20
— in India and Ceylon, 129,
157-8, 159
— (cf. "Liquor Traffic")
Punjab, The, 133, 138, 141, 265
Putumayo, 19
Pyrenees, 265

R

Race and religion, 185-6
Races, Native, 10, 154-5, 160
Railways in China, 198, 200
Rama, 249

Rand, The, 12, 19
Recruiting of labour in Africa, 15,
17, 19, 22, 50, 60
Reformation, The, 201, 216
Re-Incarnation, 259
Relief Act, Indians (1914), 274-5
Religion, relation to trade, 10; to
the Empire, 55-61; in
Africa, 58; in India, 169,
180, 185; in China, 185-6
(cf. "Christianity," "The
Church," "Missions")
— problem of religions, 247-69;
not necessarily a missionary
problem, 247; influence of
West on East, 248; Oriental
systems not decayed, 249-
51; movement in Oriental
religions, 251; materialism,
251-2; symptoms of de-
spair, 252; but revival,
253-4; advance against
Western religion, 254; atti-
tude of Christianity, 255;
sympathy and comprehen-
sion, 256; dogma and
metaphysics, 257-9; Chris-
tianity and ancestor-wor-
ship, 259-261; church
architecture in India, 262-
3; condition of Christian-
ity in West, 264; Muham-
madanism, 264-8; mission-
ary policy, 268-9 (cf.
"Christianity," "The
Church," "Missions")
Repatriation of labour in Africa, 15,
18, 19, 22, 45, 47, 48, 50, 51, 61
Resurrection, 159
Revenue, 4, 7, 99, 113-15, 131-2,
136, 137-8, 148, 154, 223, 228
Revolution, The, in China, 205,
212-13
Rhodesia, 107
Roberts, Mr. Charles, 149
Roberts, Sir Herbert, 146, 149
Robertson, Sir Benjamin, 28, 33
Roman Catholic Missions, 250, 260,
270, 282-3
Roman Empire, 27, 44, 46, 188,
252, 254, 268, 270, 271
— Republic, 102, 252, 255

INDEX

Romanesque architecture, 262
Russia, 193, 194, 219, 229, 282

S

Sabagreira, 95
Samaj, The, 249, 253, 266
Samoa, 242
Sardinia, 240
Sarvadhikary, Dr., 140
Scotland, 240
Searle Judgment, The, 33
Seeley, Sir John, 3
Self-Government, in *India*, 9, 161, 189, 280-1; Indian unrest, 161-2; Indian Councils Act, 162-3; Coronation Durbar, 163-4; partition of Bengal, 164; further agitation, 165-6; Western education, 166; democracy 167-9; village communities, 168, 173, 280-1; education of village officials, 176; influence of Christianity, 182; central government, 184-9; race and religion, 185; a federal system, 187 (cf. "Education")
— in *China*, 185, 190-208; changes in China, 190; influence of trade and Christianity, 191; relations with foreign nations, 192-3, 282-4; comparison with Africa, 194-7; war danger in China, 196-7; trade and politics, 198-200; resemblance to India, 198; railways and foreign loans, 198-200; democracy and feudalism, 201; village life in China, 202-6; theory of imperial power, 206-8; examination system, 209-11; influence of Western teaching, 211-12; nature of reform movement, 212-13; its needs, 214; Christianity and democracy, 216; Yellow Peril, 217-20;

need of emigration centres, 219 (cf. "Education")
"Semlag," The, 120
Sergi, Prof., 235
Sex-problems, 45-6, 47, 51-2, 245n., 273 (cf. "Marriage")
Shanghai, 198, 225, 228
— Conference (1907), 260-1
Shantung, 229
Shen, Emperor, 207
Shiah, sect, 249
Shin Shiu, sect, 249
Shintoism, 248, 250, 253, 255, 264
Shire Highlands, The, 41, 43, 48
Siberia, 230
Sicily, 240
Sierra Leone, 79 n., 85, 107, 109, 113-14, 120
Sikhs, The, 133, 248, 253
Singh, Mr. Nihal, 30
Siva, 249
Slave Trade, The, 5, 63, 65, 89, 105-6, 270-3
Slessor, Miss Mary, 73
Smuggling of gin, 110-11
Smuts, General, 29, 31, 37
Somaliland, British, 107
South Africa, Imperial responsibility to, 22-3
— attitude of Union Government to East Indians, 41, 164, 166, 274-5
— a white man's preserve, 41, 43, 47
— the black problem in, 44-52
— Native administration in, 48
— Religion in, 58
— Labour problems in, 11-61 (cf. "Labour Problems")
— Liquor Traffic in, 64, 66, 116-20, 123, 276
— Taxation in, 113
— Inter-racial marriage in, 246 (cf. "Marriage")
Spain, 64, 65, 109, 241, 265
Spirits, European, effect on native races, 62-3, 276-7 (cf. "Liquor Traffic")
Straits Settlements, 228
Strike of East Indians, 38
Stuarts, The, 201

INDEX

Students, Indian, 25; Chinese, 209,
218 (cf. "Education")
Sudan, 65, 66
Sudras, The, 184
Sun Yat Sen, Dr., 212, 226
Sunni, sect, 249
Suppression of Opium Trade,
Society for, 232
Swadeshi Movement, 170
Szechuan, 212

T

Tahiti, 242
Taj Mahal, The, 263
Taku, 282
Taoism, 186, 208, 248
Tartars, The (cf. "Mongols")
Tasmanians, The, 244
Tax of £3, 28-30, 38, 39, 274
Temple, Mr. W., 57
Theism, 265, 267
Tibet, 193, 219
Tientsin, 198, 250
— Treaty of, 223 n., 224, 282-4
Timbuctoo, 65
"Toddy," 128
Togo, 107
Tokio, 215, 252
Trade, 1-10; displaces land as
cause of war, 1-3; expansion
of, 3; demoralises
native races, 4-7, 272;
relation to revenue, 4, 7,
99, 113-15; and politics
in China and India, 8,
103-4, 174, 191-221; pre-
sents different problem in
Africa and the East, 9;
relation to half-castes, 9;
relation to religion, 10
— and labour problems, 11-52,
272 (cf. "Labour Pro-
blems")
— and liquor traffic, 62-126 (cf.
"Liquor Traffic")
— and opium and morphia
traffic, 222-32 (cf. "Opium
Traffic" and "Morphia
Traffic")
Transkei, The, 118
Transvaal, The, 24, 36, 38

Treaty Ports (China), 198, 283
Trieste, 217
Tsingtao, 192
Tsung-li Yamen, The, 195 n.
Tudors, The, 203
Tugwell, Bishop, 84, 93-6, 97-9
Turkey, 165, 266, 267
Tyon, 95

U

Udagah North, 146
— South, 146
Uganda, 107, 113
United Provinces, 138, 141, 143
— States of America, cf.
"America"
Universities in India, 178-80
— in China, 211, 215-16
Unrest in India, 161-2

V

Venice, 102, 262, 263
Verona, 262
Victoria, Queen, 223
Village committees (Ceylon), 153
— communities (India), 168-73,
174, 280-1
— life in China, 202-6, 213, 214
Vishnu, 249

W

Wai-wu Pu, The, 195
Wales, 240
War, The American (1861-5), 105
— The "Arrow," 224
— The Great (1914), 2, 42, 196,
217
— Danger of, in China, 196-7,
217-20
Warren Hastings, 4, 222, 223 n., 228
Warri Government School, 76-9
Wars of Religion, The, 3
Weissman, 241
West Africa, British, revenue in, 7,
99; a black man's preserve,
43, 48; native administra-
tion in, 49; liquor traffic
in, 125, 157-8, 276 (cf.
"Liquor Traffic")
— German, 107
— Portuguese, 17-19
West Indies, 106, 240

INDEX

Whampoa, 232
 Wilberforce, 166
 William, Emperor, The, 196 *n.*
 Windsor, 235
 Wren, Sir Christopher, 262
 Wright, Dr. Hamilton, 223 *n.*
 Wu-han University, 211, 216
 Wusung, 198, 282
 Wybergh, Mr., 43

Y

Yao, Emperor, 207
 "Yellow Peril," The, 197, 217-20

Yoruba, The, 80, 81, 91
 Younghusband, Colonel, 193
 Yuan Shih Kai, 191, 218
 Yunnan, 229

Z

Zambesi, The, 13, 17, 50, 52
 Zanzibar, 165, 196 *n.*
 Zara, 102
 Zeno, San, 262
 Zulu Rising (1906), 45, 116

